The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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DICTATORSHIP TRIUMPHANT

SO FAR as any opinion can be more than a mere guess, it would seem fairly safe to believe that immediate war in Europe, so abruptly threatened as a result of Hitler's march into the Rhineland, has been averted, but that the probability, almost the certainty, of a general war in the near future has been glaringly revealed. That Nazi Germany will suffer nothing more serious than a legalistic rebuke, either at the hands of the League, or of the nations that with Germany signed the Locarno pact, now torn up by Hitler, seems clear. The imposition of sanctions, which have already badly failed in the case of Italy, seems out of the question. England may or may not sign a new treaty with France and Belgium, assuring those two countries of her armed support in case of "unprovoked" attack upon them by Germany; but such a treaty could now be regarded with slight respect. "Unprovoked" is a weasel word. It was because Hitler considered the Franco-Soviet pact directly provocative of peril for Germany—and for all of Europe, because it brought the power of Communism into Europe's heart—that he dared the sensational stroke which has convulsed what is left of western civilization.

The spectacle of incompetence, of shilly-shallying and shuffling, of mutual jealousies, suspicions, rivalries, cross-purposes and shallow opportunism, which has been presented to the world at London, on the part of the so-called "great powers," France and England and Italy, would be comic were it not so tragic. Italy's course—that which is based upon the sole desire of turning the present crisis to its own advantage—is at least clear and consistent. But France and England are supposed to represent the strongholds of democracy in Europe, with the lesser nations which are still resistant to the rising power of dictatorship, anxiously, almost despairingly, looking toward them for safe leadership. And that leadership is

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visibly lacking—or at least so plainly confused, uncertain, bewildered that it cannot be relied upon.

By invitation of the League of Nations some three hundred journalists from all parts of the world had gathered, presumably to aid "public opinion" to inform itself correctly as to the course of deliberations which vitally affect all humanity. But except for brief "public" sessions of the Council, carefully staged, confined to the issuance of formal statements, secret diplomacy ruled the roost. "Open covenants openly arrived at," one of the chief doctrines which were to have guided the League of Nations, is just another scrap of paper, like all the treaties, and like them has been torn up. Some of the sessions of the Council were termed "private," and others "secret." A diplomat explained the distinction to a correspondent: "A private session differs from a secret session in that 95 percent of what goes on leaks out after a secret session and 100 percent after a private session." How much of what "leaks" out, however, is true, and how much is false; how much is merely national propaganda for one or another of the powers represented—such questions, of course, cannot be answered correctly.

But it does seem to be certain that dictatorship in general: the power of totalitarian, anti-liberal, authoritarian governments, has won a great victory. That power has not as yet, we may hope, won its war against democracy, and liberty, and traditional civilization—but assuredly its cause has been sweepingly advanced. Fascist Italy, it would seem, whether or not it is deliberately, although secretly, allied with Nazi Germany, has profited by Hitler's coup. How can sanctions be further pressed against Italy, in any effective manner, when it is palpable that they will not be invoked, still less applied, against Germany? Both Italy and Germany, like Japan and Russia, act as the will of their dictatorial leaders or parties please, and, so far, they are winning what they desire, all along the line.

Will, then, Germany compel all the nations of Europe, not only to accept Hitler's rearming of the Rhineland, but also his plans—which are also the plans of the army leaders—for territorial expansion? The demand for colonies overseas is probably a bluff, a trading point. Colonies would require a powerful navy. A powerful German navy would directly challenge England. To avert that challenge, England, of course, and, from her own point of view, very properly so, would go a long way (she has already gone far) in support of Germany's European restoration—and restoration is simply the preparation for advance. France can do little to stop that advance, lacking England's positive aid, which seems most unlikely to be given. France, moreover, although momentarily unified by Hitler's aggressive move, may soon decide that the vacillations and weakness of her political system are intolerable, and turn toward some form of authoritarian government herself. Even if such a movement failed, it is bound to weaken French policy.

Meanwhile, and apparently for some indefinite duration, Europe and well-nigh all the world has become an armed camp again—but on a scale surpassing all that has gone before. The basic industry of Europe, and of Russia, and of Japan, has become armament. "International morality has been reduced to zero," declares Sir Austen Chamberlain. With treaties and pacts thus plainly of no avail, how can Hitler's brash offer of a new pact to bind all the nations to peace for twenty-five years be regarded as anything but a mirage? Even the United States, with three thousand miles of ocean between its shores and distracted Europe, and another ocean between Asia and danger, is arming at sea and on land.

From Vatican City the semi-official voice of the Holy Father to the press, *L'Osservatore Romano,* urges that the nations "use other means than the force of arms to rectify unfair treaties." The nations—or, rather their secular governments and politicians and generals—are deaf to such a voice. But there are many millions of men and women, in all the nations, inside and outside the Catholic Church, who are not deaf to the voice of the Vicar of Christ. Can such masses of human beings find means to frustrate the will of the war makers in time to avert the unutterable calamity which overhangs them and their children? This is the burning question of our day.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

A CONSCIENTIOUS investigation would turn up few sheep in the world to cry wolf. Even Americans, deplorers of European militarism, have clothed themselves not exactly in fleece. So, while oversea realists proclaim the now complete unreality of the League ideal and advocate security by no theoretic collective action but by pragmatic combinations of armed forces, here the local realists seem to be appropriating a record high of $549,591,299 for our navy and a record $603,230,604 for our army and turning again from the front page inside to home affairs. The rhythms of public opinion show unusually clearly in the reception accorded—or rather, not accorded—to industrial organizational movements in the category of NRA. And it is still a category where basic changes, for better or worse, will have to be made. Coordinator Berry presented to the President a report by the Council of Industrial Progress which recommended action in four lines: production control (emergency), hours and wages (minimum laws of

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some sort), trade practises, a permanent advisory council. A government survey, held up since last November and just released, showing NRA trade practises were being generally continued, while the minimum wage provisions have badly broken, deserves more notice than it got. Industry took the favor of suspended anti-trust laws, and gave a return in better wages only, it seems, in part.

THE CHARACTER of a free market was made more difficult to define last week when electric rates throughout the country were published. The proximity of water power or coal seemed to make slight difference. The average annual residential bill varied from $27.89 in Michigan to $45.32 in Florida, and the average annual revenue for each kilowatt-hour was $.027 in Washington and $.08 in Louisiana. The utilities gained a comrade in arms in their struggle with the Senate Lobby Committee when W. R. Hearst turned his legal guns against those who want to publicize a telegram he sent his editor in Washington. Search and seizure will certainly be an item in the fall debates. Pre-convention political operations received a sharpness when Senator Borah told the country that Standard Oil was selecting the Republican delegates from the state of Oklahoma. These would presumably be instructed for Governor Landon and not Senator Borah. Three bills are before Congress which are designed to make elections in this country more free. The Van Nuys bill, passed by the Senate, and the Ramsay bill, a stricter measure of the same kind, prevent employers from influencing the votes of their employees by hints and threats. The Perkins bill tries to legislate against the same sort of pressure applied by bosses in public employ. It is somewhat humiliating such laws need serious attention and backing.

TEN YEARS ago and more, undergraduates at our American colleges and universities were proverbially care-free and happy-go-lucky. Countless gallons of alcohol have been consumed by ardent alumni ever since in a vain effort to recapture and relive for a time those golden days which they believe to be the happiest of many a colorless, suburban existence. College students are said to be of a more serious mien today, but in many ways they are as youthful as ever. Their original dramatic productions and, on occasions, their humorous periodicals have a freshness and verve that puts to shame the efforts of more finished commercial ventures. Those who are not undergoing the rigors of "working their way through" still live a most protected existence. The bigger, the vaguer and the more distant the problems the students discuss, the better they like it. Press reports of the ninth annual New England Model League of Nations just concluded at Williamstown were rather scanty but it appears that the student delegates were undismayed by authoritative and devastating attacks on the League by such of their betters as President Tyler Dennett of Williams and Bruce Bliven of the *New Republic*. They pushed on to adopt a number of resolutions and with typical undauntedness called for a thorough reexamination of the whole post-war treaty structure. And delegates from Amherst added a youthful touch of realism by appearing in blackface as delegates from Ethiopia. But perhaps the honors of the week should go to Princeton, where undergraduates, March 16, announced the formation of the national Veterans of Future Wars to combat American governmental idiosyncrasies by the potent weapon of laughter. To quote from their manifesto, "Inasmuch as the coming war will otherwise deprive the most deserving bloc of the Veterans of Future Wars of their bonus by their sudden and complete demise, the bonus must be paid now." A bit late, but not a bad idea.

INTERESTING words were spoken in defense of work relief by Edmond B. Butler, secretary of the Emergency Relief Bureau and chairman of the executive committee of the National Catholic Alumni Federation, at the conference sponsored by the latter in New York on the subject of the Church and labor. The two points of attack usually found against the present system of creating emergency jobs for the indigent—that it is the most expensive form of relief known, and that its present conduct is inefficient—were met by Mr. Butler with frank admissions which at least raise this controverted subject out of the realm of special pleading into that of reality and common sense. The staggering totals involved are not denied, but Mr. Butler points out that the gain has been twofold: in maintaining social order during an extremely hazardous and troubled period, and in preserving a spirit among jobless workers definitely superior to that which results from money hand-outs. That work relief comes cheap if its alternative is rioting, bloodshed and the various forms of suppression which these make inevitable, no one presumably will deny; and it may be that our country's almost complete freedom from these unhappy phenomena, considered in any wide general sense, has deceived the castigators of work relief into the belief that this freedom has resulted from some natural law applying to America, and not from the measures taken, however faulty they may be. Again, Mr. Butler's statement that "it is better to spend twice as much to have men dig holes and fill them up again, than to put them on the dole," renders the matter in a rather startling way; but

Spring Hits the Campus

The Case for Work Relief

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we think it indisputable that this is the way most Americans feel about it, whether work relief is held to be feasible or not.

AS TO the mistakes, which Mr. Butler admits have been "plenty," he reminds us that we plunged into the crisis without plan or program, so that "the public works just grew. There were no experts on the subject in the country"—a fact which incidentally encourages unlimited criticism, since there have been so few standards which might be cited to check criticism. Mr. Butler favors "a planned system of public works, which would expand in times of cyclical unemployment and contract in normal times," as an expedient to "level off the peaks and valleys and eliminate a very objectionable feature . . . the competition with private industry for labor and material in times of expansion." There is a note of humorous grimness in his summing up of the political impediments which this program of social engineering would encounter; but even that fact does not stop him. Our citizens, he says, positively like political obstruction. "They like to have pull; they like to get speeding tickets fixed, and to be able to get jobs for their friends. That type of politics will always exist . . . and certainly such difficulties cannot stand in the way of a sound program." This is not the first time this plea has been made, but it is seldom made in such a convincingly human spirit, or with such persuasive practical authority.

THERE are various ways of wrestling with reality, and all of them, says a good Catholic writer, lead to the cross. This he says not as a counsel of despair, but simply as a statement of fact. The way of the cross leads to heaven; escapism, immorality, deceit, corruption, meanness and treachery lead somewhere else. The dangers which still threaten a terrible number of our friends and neighbors, are for those with a modicum of security so painful to contemplate in their realities that one of the common phenomena of escape, ratiocination, so called, or the logic of self-justification, self-defense and wishful thinking, has been one of the major aspects of the depression. It takes one common form which we all know in the case of those who while dipping deep into what means are still available, offer the stone of a panacea to the starving. Another instance was forcibly brought to our attention the other day. In a clinic for the sick poor conducted by the Sisters of Charity, a small woman, thin, in black, was one of the patient crowd waiting to see a doctor. She had two children with her. When her turn came, the doctor asked what the trouble was. The children were so weak, she said, that they kept falling off their chairs and hurting themselves; they seemed, literally, to have some queer kind of falling sickness. Inside of an hour, they were in the hospital connected with the clinic and were being treated for acute malnutrition. There were seven more of them at home, down to a baby in arms. Home was a single room in a tenement without central heating. (Thank God spring is almost here!)

For the Desperate

THE MOTHER was a widow and an alien. It was the last that made her case particularly difficult as there are so many restrictions on the available charities providing against their being dispensed to aliens. The woman's pastor, hard pressed in a poor parish, was one of her scant means of support—but she was only one of many in equal desperation appealing to him. The moral of the incident, it seems to us, is that discrimination against nominal aliens in our midst is a cruel and unnecessary thing. They, in an ideal system, should be the first, according to necessity, to be helped, if our civilization had any regard for Christian courtesy and the humanities. To sit in an office somewhere and ratiocinate them out of the help they need in their darkest hours is a small, contemptible act, however it may be cloaked in patriotism, or the travesty of patriotism. The new suggestion, for cutting down the relief rolls, that those on relief with former prison sentences, shall be as a category cut off from relief also is a cruel thing, a piling of Ossa on Pelion for those least able to take care of themselves and most likely to be driven to unsocial desperation.

ACCORDING to indications, the Middle West is planning its biggest and most rousing campaign. The press in that region is overwhelmingly conservative; the people may or may not be minded likewise. It is clear that rising security markets have cured the panicky dispositions of many who felt that all was lost, and even among farmers there is less joy than there used to be over government readiness to take over the mortgage. In short, tens of thousands of "settled people" are in a mood to long for the halt of experiment and for the rainbow's end of things as they used to be. Roosevelt is still obviously in command. But Democratic dissension in Illinois and a considerable amount of intra-party fussing even in Missouri have greatly revived Republican hopes. Moreover, the number of the more or less thoughtful who desire a complete refashioning of the social order is far larger than it used to be. Wholly apart from Townsendism and such follies, there is an intelligent demand for reconstruction through cooperation or a larger measure of socialization. This demand will not be ignored during the months to come. Our present surmisal is that if the President makes a convincing campaign, he will carry the region.

Shadow Boxing

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AMERICA AND WAR

By J. ELLIOT ROSS

As all the newspapers' blackest headlines proclaim, the clouds of war are almost at tempest pitch over Europe. Should that tempest break, could the United States escape? That question is now in all minds. It gives poignant interest to the views expressed in this article. Father Ross pleads for something stronger and surer than treaties and pacts among the nations: for ceaseless and determined education of the will to peace. Emphasis upon the horrible realities of warfare should be stressed.—The Editors.

HOW CAN the United States keep out of war? One's first reaction to the question, I suppose, is to think of a law. It seems so easy to advocate a law, and to imagine that its passage will settle the matter. But our experience with prohibition should have taught us that laws are useless unless they have public opinion back of them. The great mistake of the prohibitionists was to stop all their educational work once the Volstead Law was passed. They had a naive faith in the efficacy of a law, and everyone knows the consequences. As a matter of fact, we have a law—for as a treaty the Kellogg Pact is the supreme law—renouncing war. Those who advocated that pact thought that they were really outlawing war. But it is still necessary to ask, how can America keep out of war?

Certain proposed laws might help. Since the people do the fighting and bear the hardships of war, I think that they should have the ultimate decision as to war. The right to declare war should be taken away from Congress, and a plebiscite should be required before an appeal to the arbitrament of arms. Stricter regulations regarding neutrality might help in avoiding a situation that almost necessitates war. The nationalization of the manufacture of arms would prevent American manufacturers from providing potential enemies with arms to be used against us.

But none of these measures will be worth any more than the Volstead Law—or the Kellogg Pact—unless we have the will for peace. And the will for peace cannot be created by mere legislation. Education is needed to build up public opinion. Until all the educational forces—pulpit, press, school, stage, screen, radio—patiently educate our people to a will for peace, we may expect that legislation will be futile. This way of education is a long road, but it is the only reliable one.

Each one having a will for peace must according to his opportunities do his bit in educating others to peace. And as my little contribution to the cause, I should like to emphasize the need for a realistic attitude toward war. It irks me that militarists should calmly assume that they are the only realists in international affairs. As a matter of fact, the advocates of war, not the advocates of peace, are the idealists. They think of war in idealistic terms, they idealize the results of war, until the grim realities disappear in a fog of imaginary values.

Realism, as I see it, implies a recognition of at least three things: the horrors of war, the futility of war, and the foolishness of war.

Those who talk glibly of war as if it were the most natural thing in the world have little appreciation of the horrors of war. In the olden days of chivalry war was bad enough. Then war involved comparatively small bodies of men who fought with very inefficient and inexpensive weapons. Soldiers were largely professionals who went in for that sort of thing because they liked it. Perhaps the percentage of fatalities was as great then as now, but not nearly as large a proportion of the people of any nation was engaged. Today whole nations are involved in a war. It would mean certain defeat for any one nation entering a war to depend upon volunteers. If we are to fight under modern conditions, a universal manhood draft is a necessity. And the next great war will probably draft everyone, including women. Not all will fight in battle, but all will be swept into the war machine in some capacity. As a consequence, there will be no non-combatants. It will be as justifiable to bomb a city as it is now to bomb an army base. The women working in munition factories can expect no better treatment than their brothers and husbands with rifles in their hands. The logic of the will to win must inevitably lead to thwarting the enemy in his preparations, instead of waiting until those preparations are completed.

I wish that some journalist with a flair for describing gruesome details would write a description of war corresponding to that journalistic effort, "Sudden Death," describing the horrors of automobile accidents. "Sudden Death" had a wide circulation first of all in a magazine, and afterward was reprinted as a pamphlet. Then news reels told the story of its writing, radio commentators spoke of it. If a description of the horrors of war could get similar publicity, and if dramas for radio and screen and stage took it up, sermons were preached upon it, teachers in high school and college recommended it to their students, the process of educating for peace would be greatly stimulated. If we had a realistic, instead of an idealistic, attitude toward war, we should take the

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romance and glory out of it. Widows and orphans and crippled men marching would be substituted for waving flags and brilliant uniforms and stirring bands in our parades on military anniversaries. Floats would represent all the gruesome details of battle.

Secondly, realism implies a recognition of the futility of war. Most wars are fought either for economic motives, or to vindicate national honor. Considering the economic motives first, there are two things a victorious nation may get out of a war — an indemnity or an increase in territory. Norman Angell demonstrated long ago, in "The Great Illusion," that under modern conditions a nation cannot profit by either more territory or by an indemnity. There is a sentimental satisfaction to Frenchmen in having their flag flying over Alsace-Lorraine, but their taxes are not lower for all that. The taxes paid by the inhabitants are expended locally, in the main, whether France or Germany controls.

A few generations ago, jingoes in this country were shouting "Fifty-four forty or fight!" They meant that unless Canada agreed to a boundary following the latitude 54° 40′ we ought to fight about this strip of territory. Well, we did not fight, and we did not get this territory. Would you and I have any more money in the bank if the Stars and Stripes rather than the Cross of St. George happened to fly over this particular section of the earth's surface? Indeed, are we not the richer because we did not fight? If we had gone to war over this, you and I would still be paying for it, at least in the form of pensions.

When we took Puerto Rico and the Philippines, did the average American citizen benefit in any way? When recently we gave the Philippines their freedom, did the average American citizen suffer any damage? Economically, we should have been better off if we had never fought the Spanish-American War. We gained a certain increase in territory, but the territory has been a liability rather than an asset.

The citizen of a big country may think that he shares in this bigness, but that is merely a mistaken notion. As a matter of realism, the Switzer living in one of the tiniest countries in the world, without minerals and without oil, is just as well off as if the Swiss flag flew over all the seas, the sun never set on Swiss colonies, and she produced half the oil and coal and iron of the whole earth. Indeed, the Switzer is fortunate that his ancestors did not wage innumerable wars to put together such an empire. The jeweler buying watches is interested in price and quality, not in the navy of the manufacturers. And the Swiss watchmaker may be able to sell cheaper than if he had to pay taxes to support a big navy.

An indemnity must be paid either in money or in goods. If it be paid in money, the practical result will be to raise prices. For there is a rough proportion between the amount of goods and the amount of money in a country. If the amount of goods remain the same, and the amount of money be increased considerably, then the people with goods will demand more money for what they have to sell.

If an indemnity be paid in goods, this is equivalent to allowing another country to dump its products here in competition with home products. It would be much simpler to reduce the tariff without going to war. Why fight an expensive war, if the upshot of it is to be the consumption of the manufactures of the nation we trounce? If that be realism, then "Alice in Wonderland" is equally realistic.

Thirdly, realism implies a recognition of the essential foolishness of war. The flip of a coin has as much to do with the rightness or wrongness of any particular cause as does the decision reached by war. But if we have some superstitious preference for arms as a means of settling international disputes, it would be much wiser to trust to the results achieved by one man picked from each side. Then the nation that lost at least would not have the burden of an enormous debt, and would have lost the life only of this one man. And the nation that won would have been really victorious. A technical victory would not have been offset by the loss of millions of lives and billions of treasure. Moreover, the enormous cost of armaments through years of preparing for a war would be saved.

Years ago I remember reading a short story called "Helen of Troy." The Helen of the story was the beautiful daughter of a Greek immigrant living in Troy, New York. She was beloved by the son of an Irish bricklayer. With the pride of race so universal, the Irishman thought no Greek could possibly be worthy of his son. And when he heard the news of the marriage, his reaction was to beat up the first Greek banana vender he found. He identified all Greeks with the supposed wrong done him by one Greek. In this particular case no great harm resulted. But when Austria identified all Serbians with the act of one Serbian in shooting an archduke, and various other nations came to the help of one or the other, as in 1914, the consequences were serious. Yet essentially, the supposedly wise statesmen who rushed their respective countries into war acted just as the Irish bricklayer did. There is much truth in Norman Angell's assertion ("The Great Illusion," page 317):

> The disappearance of most international hostility depends upon nothing more intricate than the realization of facts which enables us to see that the anger of the yokel is absurd when he pummels a Frenchman because an Italian swindled him.

With his usual vivid style, Carlyle put this

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underlying fallacy of war very clearly. He says ("Sartor Resartus," page 133):

> What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purpose and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dumdrudge usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "natural enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say, thirty able-bodied men. Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charge, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot in the south of Spain, are thirty similar French artizans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending, till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and Thirty stand fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire" is given; and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anon shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest. They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, by commerce some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! Their governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot.

Of a piece with the foolishness of war is the foolishness of imagining that preparedness for war is the best guarantee of peace. Theodore Roosevelt once advised carrying a big stick while walking softly. But the nations carrying a big stick do not walk softly. In 1914, it was the nations that had been spending most on armaments that started the war. The comparatively weak and unarmed Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, although on the very edge of that maelstrom, managed to keep clear of it. Why? Certainly it was not because of what they had spent on munitions during the preceding decade.

For more than a hundred years now there has been perfect peace along the Canadian border. Because on each side there are tremendous fortifications? Because the Great Lakes are patrolled by super-dreadnaughts? Because we are prepared for war along that front? On the contrary, we have peace because we are not prepared for war. That is to say, we have the will to peace, and so we have made no preparation for war. For nations are largely like individuals. It is the man with a gun on him who gets into a shooting scrape. The peaceful man manages to avoid trouble.

But, I know someone will say, men always have fought wars, and since human nature does not change, nations always will fight wars. Well, human nature does not have to change to eliminate war. I can imagine Solomon saying about polygamy: "Men never have been satisfied with one wife, and they never will be. Until human nature changes we shall have polygamy." Or in my mind's ear I can hear old Andrew Jackson, who for thirty-seven years kept his dueling pistols ready and had killed at least one opponent, emphatically asserting: "It is a perfectly natural thing to fight when one is insulted. And as long as men remain human beings you will have duels." Well, monogamy is the accepted standard almost everywhere, and dueling in the United States is as dead as the dodo. Did human nature change? No, but the customary ways of acting have changed.

And they can change in regard to war. All that is necessary to change previous ways of settling international disputes is for men generally to realize the facts I have enumerated, to take a truly realistic attitude toward war. Then they will understand that their best interests are diametrically opposed to war. The unchanging selfishness of human nature will be the best guarantee of peace.

Refuge

Always the calm reprieve . . .

Out of the sombrous mines
Of our own thought;
Out of the iron-hard confines
Of those impenetrable
Catacombs we somehow penetrate,
There's certain, safe resort—
Or soon or late.
Perhaps it is the lull
Exorbitance of summer on a hill.
Perhaps it is the lull
Of mossy paddles foaming at the mill;
Or a sudden fish
Cutting the pond with a dagger swish,
Leaving no scar nor anything
But a growing, flowing, going ring,
Then all green-shadowy still.
Perhaps it's the pull
Of the round of the moon;
Or the white oceanside
Where the scattering wool
Frays over the tide
In the cool of the moon.

Come soon! . . .

LeGarde S. Doughty.

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TYRANNY IN THE GUELF MODE

By SUMMERFIELD BALDWIN

THE SIMILARITY of Hitler's régime to that of Mussolini has caused, is perhaps still causing, headaches for many a freshman history professor whose textbooks rely heavily on the shopworn antithesis of Teutonism and Latinism. That emotionally unstable Italians should enjoy amassing themselves into black-shirted phalanxes, raising their right arms in a theatrical gesture of loyalty, and roaring "Long live the Leader" at a stocky Lombard demagog was a phenomenon made clear as daylight to conscientious memorizers of almost anybody's College History of Europe. But when, a decade later, placid, beer-drinking, pipe-smoking Germans began to manifest almost identical proclivities, the mandarins experienced a feeling of distress, dizziness, as it were, spots before the eyes. If they were to believe what they were reading in the papers, they would have to disbelieve what they had read in the textbooks. This was a painful choice.

Some of the suffering might have been eliminated were it not that the sufferers occupied chairs in modern history. If history were taught from divans instead of chairs, they would not be under obligation to interpret all events in terms of what has transpired since 1492 or 1517, or whenever it was that modern history began. But candidates for a Ph. D. (the button of the North American mandarin) in the modern history field rarely need memorize even a single textbook in any earlier field in order to pass their general examinations. Even so, things would be easier for them if they could retain a dim recollection of their undergraduate studies. Some one of their teachers must have called their attention, during those far-off days when they were learning instead of teaching, to the struggles of the Guelfs and Ghibellines which transpired in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of our era, long before modern history began. Little enough sense was made, maybe, of these struggles; yet it should not be too late to assist in the cure of the modern history professors' headache by making a little sense of them.

For a brief reflection upon Guelfs and Ghibellines should have a cathartic effect, purging the intellectual system of the toxic accumulations of nineteenth-century nationalism, that indigestible mass of printed matter issued almost annually in different shades of binding and with different authors' names under the too tolerant patronage of the Muse of History. But first let it be noted that even within the purview of the strictly modern historian the courses of emotionally unstable Italy and placidly beer-drinking Germany ran strikingly parallel long before Mussolini and Hitler had ancestors of any recorded sort. Thus Italian "national aspirations" were gratified in 1859 by the establishment of a "Kingdom of Italy" under the House of Savoy, while a decade later German "national aspirations" were gratified by the establishment of a "German Empire" under the House of Hohenzollern. The dynastic histories of Savoy and of Hohenzollern are alike in carrying us back to robber barons' castles overhanging the Alpine passes which connect the valley of the Rhine with the valley of the Po, passes traversed for ages by northerners on a pleasure jaunt to the southland, and by southerners on business trips to the north.

Savoy, the home county of the Italian King's forebears, is no longer part of his domains. It belongs to France, and, like Italian Piedmont, Liguria and even Tuscany, is truly part of Frankland and sympathetic to the Frankish temperament. Its former counts, now Kings of Italy, are, therefore, alien in all but the northwestern part of the kingdom. The first capital of united Italy was in Frenchy Florence, and its King would today be happier there than in turbulent, hostile Rome. South Germany, too, has her Frankland, as the country still called Franconia should remind us; and the south German founders of the House of Hohenzollern bequeathed a distinctively Frankish temperament to their descendants. Frederick the Great, most typical of the race, imitated Voltaire, adorned his military heroes with the Order *Pour le mérite,* tried to make Berlin a copy of Paris, Potsdam a copy of Versailles. His descendant, the first German Emperor, thought the only genuine and original Versailles a thoroughly appropriate setting for the apotheosis of the House of Hohenzollern to divinely anointed Caesardom. Alike in their dynastic background, Savoy and Hohenzollern are alike in their destiny: to king it over alien lands in the name of "national aspirations."

Now Hohenzollern saws wood at Doorn and Savoy collects postage stamps on the Quirinal, while "Teutonism" gives vent to its feelings in Hitler, *der Fuehrer,* "Latinism" in Mussolini, *il Duce.* Leadership, whether on a Germanic or on a Romance tongue, smacks of an identical tyranny. Yet, as all dynasties were not struck with the Frankish die, after the type of Savoy or Hohenzollern, so all tyrannies are not cut to the same pattern as that of Hitler, or of Mussolini. There is, indeed, a specifically Frankish style of tyranny, but this is not the style of the Leaders. The Frankish tyrant, melancholic in

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temper, is the Louis Napoleon who can convert a presidency into an emperor's crown by way of *coup d'état,* plebiscite, and constituent assembly. He charms the mob into insensibility by melancholy melodies skilfully played in the newspapers. A well-chosen headline: *Patrie en danger!* or *J'accuse . . .* will often suffice to bring proletarian democracy to the revolution-point.

Then there is our North American tyrant, of temper phlegmatic, Celtic, if you please, in mood: the Boss. He does not dazzle and frighten the democracy with resplendent uniforms and the rattle of musketry, though, like all tyrants, he issues the famous call for a bodyguard, as did the recently assassinated Boss, Tyrant, or Kingfish of Louisiana. The shepherd of the people, he "takes care of" all his sheep out of the Fortunatus-purse of patronage. A paving contract is, for him, what a scare-headline is for a Louis Napoleon.

Again, there is the Spanish, or "Gothic" pattern of tyranny, to which are cut most South American "Presidents," and the late Primo de Rivera, in the old country. Tyranny is chanted in Spanish lands in the Dorian or military mode, by souls whose temperament Dr. Galen, physician of the humors, would have called sanguine. A brass band is the scare-headline of the Gothic tyrant; a commission in the army is his paving contract.

Leaderism, as by Hitler or Mussolini, is none of these. What kind of tyranny it is will appear clearly only after we have prepared our purge for nineteenth-century nationalism.

We have seen that Savoy was alien in all of Italy save in its Frankish, northwestern corner, that Hohenzollern was alien in all of Germany save in its Frankish, southwestern corner. Notice has also been duly taken of the Alpine origin of these protagonists of "national aspirations." Indeed, the common tradition in European affairs which they represent first crystallized in the twelfth century as Ghibellinism. This is the Italian name for the policy in Germany and Italy of the Franconian emperors and their descendants of the famous House of Hohenstauffen, the policy which, in keeping with the Frankish temper of its exponents, sought to clothe with flesh and blood of government the wraith of their Holy Roman Empire. From the Franconian Conrad II, Humbert, first of the House of Savoy, received his investiture as Count. From the Hohenstauffen Henry VI, the lord of Hohenzollern received investiture as Count of Nuremberg, and thereafter Zollern supported Stauffer and Ghibellinism.

Implacable foe of the Ghibelline was the Guelf. Although the Popes were commonly in alliance with the medieval Italian Guelfs, this was because they relied on the Guelf cities to keep the Hohenstauffen from asserting his supremacy in Rome and the papal dominions, not because Guelf policy harmonized at all points with Church policy. Indeed, the distinctive feature of Guelfism is that, contrary to Ghibellinism, it is not really a policy at all but a party. Yet Guelf partizanship differs radically from mere political factionalism, and from the kind of partizanship which we associate with the well-oiled machine, and which has no more complicated an aim than the distribution of government jobs. How radical is the difference appears if we recall that when the Guelf party became ascendant in Florence, in the days before the Medici Frenchified the city, it drove all Ghibelline citizens, even such a moderate Ghibelline as Dante, into exile; if we recall that, for many years, the Captain of the Guelf party was an official of the Florentine Republic whose practical authority outweighed that of the constitutionally established government.

Of the traditional derivation of the word Ghibelline from a Hohenstauffen castle, Waiblingen, one man say, "Si non è vero, è ben trovato." The policy is, indeed, castellar, feudal, authoritarian. Guelf, on the other hand, derives from one Welf, Duke of Bavaria and ancestor of the stem-ducal house of ancient Saxony. By its very name, the Guelf party gave notice that pedigree was its password. Its partizans were peers, equals, rather than nobles, men of note: they were patricians, men with fathers, rather than barons, men of rank and office. Saxon and Bavarian Germany, generally speaking, had no feudal, baronial nobility, as Frankland had. At the Elbe, the German Guelf party of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries stood guard against the penetration of Frankish authoritarian and feudal habits eastward into its ancestral lands. The defeat of Henry the Lion at the hands of the Hohenstauffen, Barbarossa, the still more crushing defeat of the Emperor Otto of Brunswick and his Guelf ally, King John of England, by the Frankish Philip Augustus, meant the feudalization of Germany, and the reduction of the Guelf party to subordinate rank.

South of the Alps, the Lombard communes, with Milan at their head, were organized as a Guelf center of resistance to the Hohenstauffen. Like their fellow partizans in the north, the communes were implacable foes of the castled nobility, but, contrary to the impression given to freshman history students, they were in no sense democratic, but patrician to the core. The Milanese "people," *popolo,* had nothing in common with the "people" for whom the North American politician professes concern. Its archetype was the *populus Romanus*, the *gentes* of ancient lineage (real or pretended) who directed the destinies of the classical republic. When the Guelf party finally lost its grip, and the communes began to turn into duchies, during the Renaissance, the ducal families owed their support to the unpedigreed little people, sometimes called the "third people," the prototypes of the modern city proletariat.

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Germans and Italians as such had little to do with the creation of modern music on the foundations of the major mode and the well-tempered clavichord. Yet Johann Sebastian Bach is victorious champion of the Lydian mode or major mode, the mode of the shepherd's pipe and the organ, which is gentle, or gentile; in a word, patrician. Native of Eisenach in Thuringian Saxony, he belonged to a line in which musical thought was an inherited characteristic. The Bachs held annual musical family reunions which "opened with a chorale, which was followed by secular song, until, at a convenient pause, some one of those present started a catch, in which each joined in proper turn with some humorous phrase, as likely as not hitting at a harmless family or individual failing." Similar musical clans were to be met with in northern Italy. In them, whether northern or southern, there is no mistaking the Guelf temperament, which, having failed as a party, having failed to make the nation's laws, took spectacular revenge by making a whole civilization's songs. Religious or patriotic songs today in Europe or the Americas are sung perforce in the Guelf or Lydian mode.

Such is the mode, such, in fact, are the songs of National Socialism in Germany, of Fascism in Italy. Hitler, to be sure, hails from Austria; but his party's strength is in the Saxon and Bavarian country, and its headquarters at Munich. Mussolini is a Milanese, and Lombardy is the backbone of Fascism. North and south of the Alps, we recognize the recrudescence of the intolerant Guelf partizanship which bullied Dante from Florence, and which obeys a party captain, a leader, in preference to a government. The *putsch,* whose nearest North American equivalent is a lynching bee, is as essential an arrow in the Guelf tyrant's quiver as is the *coup d'état* in the armory of a Louis Napoleon. The bully is to him what the ward heeler is to the North American boss.

Times have changed since the twelfth century. Guelf partizanship can no longer be the prerogative of the pedigreed. Tyranny is the order of the day in the Lydian or any other mode, and tyranny depends on the wise management of the proletariat. To form a Guelf party in the twentieth century, some element in the proletariat must be persuaded of its gentile unity, antiquity, equality and superiority. The Aryan formula, the Swastika emblem have served Hitler's purpose. The Jews, the money-power, are the "Ghibellines," the untouchables, the exiles: meat for the bully and the *putsch.* The Roman-Latin formula, the emblematic *Fasces* of the Republican lictors, unite Mussolini's cohorts. The "Masons," internationalists, liberals, Socialists, or what you please, are the enemy. The bullies can, at choice, beat with the Fascist rods or administer castor oil.

The monarchical form of government is by no means incompatible with tyranny, especially in its Guelf mode. The requirements of the monarch are that he be a man of the "people" by ancestry, that he possess the military genius wanting in the tyrant himself, and that, politically, he occupy the harmless rôle of *pater patriae,* father of the great big family of which the party and the nation are composed, a genial figure-head. Obviously the House of Hohenzollern is ill-suited for this task, so far as Germany is concerned. Were not the House of Savoy so sadly wanting in military genius, Fascism might forgive it its Ghibelline background. But if Guelf ascendancy in Italy can survive Mussolini, the chances of Savoy retaining the Italian crown are slim indeed.

George Washington would have made the ideal king of a Guelf nation. The Presidency was cut to his measure, and is, perhaps, the sole Guelf or Saxon element in the Constitution of the United States. After Washington, President Zachary Taylor was its only occupant who conceived his office in the mode in which it was created.

The present Swedish royal house is a perfect example of a Guelf dynasty. Its founder was Napoleon's marshal, Baptiste Jules Bernadotte, elected Crown Prince of Sweden by the popular party and succeeding to the throne in 1818. Like Washington, Bernadotte supplied what the Guelf party utterly lacks: true military genius. The Lydian mode goes to the feet not to the heart. One may dance to it, one may march to it, but one does not fight to it. The only victories Hitler's or Mussolini's cohorts are likely to win will resemble that won by the Jews before Jericho. There will be victories of morale not of cold steel.

Mussolini followed the example of the mediæval Italian Guelfs and tried to win the Papacy over to Fascism. The strength of the Church in the Italian peninsula, however, is in the south, in the old Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where Spanish or Gothic traditions prevail, and where Fascism is weak. The Papacy has seen little value in a Guelf alliance, and has preferred a rapprochement with the once excommunicated House of Savoy. Hitler, baptized a Catholic, unsuccessfully tried his wiles on the Papacy, through Von Papen, and now inveighs menacingly against "political Catholicism." As a matter of fact, the adjective is not badly chosen. North of the Alps, Catholicism is profoundly Frankish in mode, and not wanting a share of genuinely French political finesse, as the late lamented Center party witnesses. The question might be raised whether the Guelf spirit can ever be truly Christian. After all, it took the sword of Frankish Charlemagne to persuade Saxons in Germany and Lombards in Italy to conform to orthodox Christian faith and morals. Jesus said: "Unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." For the Guelf partizan, one birth is enough if the parentage is approved.

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COLLEGE AND THE WORK HABIT

By MAURICE S. SHEEHY

THE PUNSTER who first described the college-bred man as one who indulged in a four-year loaf has, I hope, gone to the land where puns are unknown. There are still a great number of people who think that college education and work are incompatible terms.

"Some of our college products," a government official supervising WPA projects informed me, "are well versed in strains and pressures but they do not know the first principle in getting men to work."

"And what is that principle?" I asked.

"A good boss will work harder than his men. A second-rate executive will strive to achieve a feeling of independence by ordering men around. The man who really works never needs the artificial stimulation involved in lording it over others."

In many ways the depression has been a blessing to the American college. It has lessened the number of playboys who go to college to spend the excess income of their parents. It has compelled or, through the NYA, enabled a larger number of students to see, even before matriculation, the real values in a college education. It has made the task of living on twenty-four hours a day more difficult. A prominent educator maintains that virtue consists in getting into things worth while rather than in keeping out of things. If that be so even in a limited sense, the depression has helped the college to produce virtuous men.

We have not, of course, reached the millenium. The college student of 1936 who works merely "for the joy of working" is, I fear, the exception. However, students seem to have a more serious purpose in coming to college, and they seem to have a bit more vision in linking a study to the general purpose of education. At the Catholic University of America a greater proportion of the students are concerned with liberal than with vocational studies since the depression. I use the term "liberal" as including those subjects which release the mind from ignorance, prejudice, fallacy and misinformation. And the quality of work done in these so-called liberal subjects is increasing along with the quantity of students.

Perhaps what I have to say in regard to the work-habits of college students may best be illustrated by types of workers.

The first type, undesirable of course, is the neurotic worker. Apparently he comes to college to enjoy a nervous breakdown. He works hard indeed to let everyone know that his profession is a tyrant and that this course is unreasonably difficult. His letters home rival the Lamentations of the Prophet. Much sympathy ensues. And that of course is pleasant. There is no luxury more deceptive than that involved in having people gush over the poor, overworked slaves who tread the mills of knowledge so energetically that an ambulance must be kept around the corner. This is the twenty-fifth year of my association with college students either as a student or as professor. Perhaps that limits the dimension of my statement when I say I have never known of a college student breaking down through excessive study. Moreover, I have never heard of such a calamity. Worry and work, of course, are a bad combination. Every professor knows students who worry too much. And because they worry, they are unable to bring the mind to a focus, to study critically any problem, or to think about anything save themselves.

The second type of college worker is the trifler. He too seems to expend a deal of energy. Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, of Brown University, once told his students that the real danger in college is not that life there is apt to be vicious, but it is apt to be trivial. A traveler whose car stops at every crossroad may never reach his goal. The mind of a student is charted for far distant horizons when he enters college, and he must know when not to stop. Very often the trifler, who has lost sight of his goal, redoubles his energy—and achieves nothing. Just as it seems foolish for a traveler to pay railway fare, unless he knows where he is going, so it seems foolish for a person to go to college, unless he knows where he is going. With that vitality and exuberance characteristic of youth, our students are going somewhere, and a little friendly counsel may keep them from dissipating their energies over unproductive fields.

A third type of student—quite rare—is the defense worker. Some years ago I gave my students what seemed to me an ingenious description of the purpose of a college education from the pen of a psychiatrist: "to teach young people to sit still, and to stand still, and to enjoy their own society a bit." I did not foresee the interpretation which one student placed on these words:

"If a student is at peace with the world," he concluded, "he can get along with much less work. The fellow who is disturbed in conscience or worrying about unpleasant things will work hard to soothe his conscience."

The half-truth involved in this interpretation is obvious. Tireless energy and excitement may

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be defense reactions. But one of the reasons why the student's conscience is often disturbed is simply because he feels he is not doing his best work. Hence we come to the vicious circle. The first step in correcting a stirred-up state of mind is to discover the root factor. An unworried mind is the solid foundation of intellectual achievement.

A fourth type of worker is the enthusiast. Frequently bumping his head into blind alleys, he may be somewhat battle-scarred by the time he graduates, but he learns. There is a danger of course that one who bubbles over readily may exhaust his energy in blowing bubbles. But the college world—like the world outside—needs the enthusiast. It is the business of professors to harness and direct enthusiasm, not to scorch it with senile cynicism.

Then there is the drudge. Once upon a time a student told me, facetiously I hope, that since work was a consequence of sin, and he hated all sin, he hated work. He was much surprised when he was told that physical labor alone seemed to be consequent upon Divine malediction. And more surprised when, on being introduced to the celestial poets, he found that they were unanimous in peopling heaven with persons who worked there. The recently deceased Kipling would never qualify as a theologian, but the suggestion contained in "L'Envoi" is by no means heretical:

> And only the Master shall praise us, and only the Master shall blame;
> And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame.
> But each for the joy of the working, and each, in his separate star,
> Shall draw the Thing as he sees it for the God of Things as They are!

The drudge is the student who looks upon work as a punishment and therefore to be feared. Inject the element of fear into study and you change it from joy unalloyed into a task of slavery.

The dramatic worker is an excellent student as long as he has an audience. Usually that audience need not be large, even one professor will do. Perhaps this explains why many students who secure high marks never read a book after leaving college, the audience is missing. A professor who denies a student praise when praise is due may be guilty of grave injustice. All the studies made of praise and blame as incentives to student effort favor the former. But it would seem that the student in a Christian college should know that every hour of earnest intellectual effort is neither unnoticed nor unappreciated by Him Whose approval is worth while.

The last type I would call the student. Having tasted of the joy of intellectual achievement, he hungers for knowledge with a hunger that can never, in this vale of tears, be perfectly satisfied. Sir William Osler wrote in "The Student Life":

> Like the snark, the student defies description, but there are three unmistakable signs by which you may recognize the genuine article from the boojum: an absorbing desire to know the truth, an unswerving steadfastness in its pursuit, and an honest, open heart free from suspicion, guile, and jealousy.

To such a person college is the land of golden opportunity and gold will be discovered no matter what impediments to study may be devised by us professors.

A healthy, sane attitude toward work is the most desirable a young man can extract from a college education. Only a mere suggestion has here been made in regard to motivation. In "Hard-Headed Holiness," one of those delightful pamphlets through which the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin is enriching student life, Father Francis LeBuffe, S.J., suggests:

> To be holy—to be a saint—means to do
> *What* I ought to do
> *When* I ought to do it
> *As* I ought to do it
> *Why* I ought to do it.

The *why* of course is all important. As Dr. Allers states in "The Psychology of Character":

> At bottom there is only one ideal, doing one's job in life, involving self-surrender and self-service. In the same way there is only one virtue—humble and willing conformity to the will of God

With this motivation, a proper attitude toward work, a bit of friendly counsel, and the good example of hard-working professors, a college student may, in the words of William James, "wake up some morning and find himself a success."

Man on the Street

I saw an old man on the street,
Walking only with his feet,
His mind is not on where he goes,
Although his eyes are on his toes
As they shuffle through the town.
I know the man. He has laid down
His life to please two sons man-grown.
The farm which he had cleared and sown
For forty years with seed he gave
To his sons. The cool oats wave
Under the wind, the swallows skim
The stubble fields, but not for him.
The earliest star hangs on the gable,
Horses stamp inside the stable,
The crickets blow their tiny whistles
In dusty ragweed and the thistles.
Night is coming on, and life
Is going to bed. There is a wife
On two good farms instead of one.
But this man here is clearly done
Whom I see walking with dead thighs,
And death is in his vacant eyes.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN.

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COOPERATION IN NOVA SCOTIA

By PHILIP BURNHAM

NOVA SCOTIA, according to the 1931 Canadian census, was the poorest province in the dominion. Its population of 512,846 had a per capita wealth of $1,769. In the seven eastern counties which make up the Diocese of Antigonish, where St. Francis Xavier University has its greatest effect, there were 197,115 people, 97,887 of them Catholics. In this region, which stretches northeasterly into the ocean toward Newfoundland and includes Cape Breton Island, are poor farmers, poor fishermen and nearly all of the 12,000 coal miners and 4,000 steel workers who constitute the most pure proletariat of the province. The people were poor and growing poorer long before the depression, and the district was losing population by emigration so that it was considered below the minimum for efficient community effort. Culturally it was sluggard; economically, retrograde; and with the depression its spirit fell to a disturbing low. The wildness of much of the peninsula and islands, so attractive to vacationists, was not inspiring to the inhabitants whose pioneering achievements were crippled by economic circumstances just when they produced such symbols of industrial civilization as propertyless workers and Marxist organizers.

For twenty-five years St. Francis Xavier, located in the city of Antigonish about thirty miles from the Strait of Canso that separates Cape Breton Island from the Nova Scotia peninsula, had carried on an adult education program in a sort of general and experimental way, emphasizing particularly scientific agriculture, and gathering an increasing store of ambition and energy. During this period a certain amount of cooperative activity existed among the rural groups: straight consumers' coops, marketing coops and even some abortive attempts at producers' coops; but on the whole this sort of economics was hardly more successful than ordinary capitalistic. That is, it was most dull. Also, the university started a "People's School," something like the Danish folk schools, where men assembled during six weeks in the summer for a cramming period of education. Then, in 1928, the Bishop of Antigonish and the university decided on a thoroughly renovated program.

After a long and systematic survey of adult education, economics and the conditions in the diocese, a regular Extension Department was formed, with two professors and several assistants. In 1930, aided by a grant from one of the Foundations, this Extension Department started, with incredible vigor, to launch out. Study clubs and cooperation are the two characteristics by which the Nova Scotia movement is known. It is a remarkable compound that has activated the whole community, and one that can't be separated into its constituents so that one element can be called primary and the other secondary. No new principles of cooperation are involved, and adult education had been tried for a quarter of a century. They have said, "Only cooperators will make a success of cooperation," which would make the study clubs primary, but then, they couldn't interest people in the study clubs unless they taught cooperation. By advocating education as a pragmatic activity, by setting it forth as an instrument that furnishes food, shelter, clothing, work and play and culture, the teachers made easy contact with farmers and fishermen. The educational program itself was definitely organized around economic study and cooperative building, and theory and practise were identified practically.

The great achievement has been to make passive people active. Father M. M. Coady of the Extension Department says: "Permit the common man —the laborer and primary producer—to cross the line and enter the field of business and finance, and the way is clear for a new type of citizen." The men up there began to make decisions of their own in spheres wherein previously all initiative had come from people they had considered were somehow in a different class: big merchants, corporation executives, politicians, school masters, clergymen. Now they themselves began to organize classes for study and public meetings for all sorts of purposes; they selected what they themselves wanted to learn and chose their own class leaders; they organized and ran by their own equal votes community businesses, cooperative marketing associations, credit union banks, and consumers' cooperative stores and buying associations. They were consciously affecting their own culture and daily work and purchasing power and economic well being. They were building up democratic vested interests which were worth the effort of defense and development by the democracy. They were calmly overcoming the oppressive feeling of paralysis, that sterility, moral impotence, which is fastened not only on the poor but on the rich and the poets. With rare success they were releasing themselves, not by embracing the revolutionary religions of Communism or Fascism, but by working in a moral work "in harmony with the essential spirit of Christianity," starting to turn an order inside out without destroying and without hate. Of course the work is so far frag-

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mentary in accomplishment, but in itself it has been for them new.

There are several steps usually taken in the formation of the study clubs, and these have differed somewhat from community to community. The university was no new institution in the region; it already had contacts when the Extension Department was formed. This was especially important because the territory is not closely integrated by roads and railways. Many of the small centers are more or less cut off and by themselves. The large number of Catholics made the parish priests most useful instruments in the new work. Indeed, their help has been essential. There is a religious spirit in the enterprise. But the work has been advanced without engendering religious distrust or opposition among non-Catholics. On the contrary, it has advanced toleration and understanding, and non-Catholics work in the cooperative and adult education movement with no discrimination or any feeling of discrimination.

Apparently an ordinary method of getting started is to have men from the Extension, cooperating with local people, begin a systematic foundation work, finding interested persons and getting neighborhood groups meeting regularly. These neighborhood groups are assembled once a month into larger community meetings for debates, discussions and addresses by touring members of the university staff. After a certain amount of this preparation, a mass meeting for the locality is called to set up permanent study clubs, select their regular leaders and map out courses of study. In 1931, there were 192 such mass meetings, attended by 14,856 persons. In 1932: 280, with 20,476 attending; 1933: 380, with 23,000; 1934: 500, with 25,000; 1935: 450, with 27,000. The number of study clubs and number of their members has progressed as follows: 1931: 172 and 1,384; 1932: 179 and 1,500; 1933: 350 and 5,250; 1934: 950 and 7,256; 1935: 940 and 8,460. Over 25,000 persons were affected through the adult education program before this past winter's program began.

The principle of voluntary leadership is strictly adhered to. In the mass meetings the people choose their own leaders, and they practically always choose wisely. In the administration of the cooperative projects which grow from the study clubs, the most efficient leaders, they say, are infallibly uncovered. The interest of these selected persons is especially fostered by the Extension Department. There are leaders' meetings: interviews between leaders and Extension officials; reading material sent especially to leaders; they are encouraged to attend the short course at the university, an outgrowth of the People's School organized permanently in February, 1933.

In the conduct of the study clubs all the best methodology developed by experts in adult education and by the students themselves is utilized. That can't be gone into here. It includes visual education, library boxes, debates, essay and public speaking competitions, local improvement scheme competitions, publishing of an extension bulletin, literary and art and dramatic and recreational clubs, handicraft work. These in addition to more formal educational courses. During 1932, the study club movement, previously almost confined to rural and fishing communities, was definitely extended to industrial sections, and a special branch of the Extension Department was opened at Glace Bay, near the iron industry, to advance on this front. In 1933, a women's division was inaugurated, and for the term ending May, 1935, there were 350 women's study clubs. They have been interested primarily in credit unions and consumers' cooperatives and in handicrafts and household health and economy.

The chief tangible unifying feature of all the adult education activity has been the cooperative enterprises flowing from it. The Extension Department sent down statistics last fall for the period ending with summer, 1935, which have been published by the Cooperative League. By 1932, the movement had given rise to 8 credit unions; by 1935, 45 with approximate savings of $150,000 and membership of 9,000. In January, 1936, there were 50 unions operating; 18 in formation; and the savings were over $200,000. There were 2 cooperative stores in 1932 and no buying clubs, while in 1935 there were 8 stores and 10 clubs. Five cooperative fish plants have been established since 1933, and two other community industries in the past two years. In 1932, there were 3 cooperative lobster factories serving 9 fishing communities; now there are 14 serving 60 communities. Before the Extension work was started in 1931 there were a few cooperative societies in eastern Nova Scotia, and since the new educational effort these, not a part of the new movement, have been greatly strengthened.

There is no analysis yet of just what this cooperative activity has meant to the participants in dollars and cents. Sufficient, apparently, to retain their interested enthusiasm. Dr. Gustav Beck gives an indication in his article, "The Men of Antigonish: a New St. Gallen":

> In the last three seasons the organized rural groups of eastern Nova Scotia pooled orders for about 15,000 tons of fertilizer on which they saved $75,000. Each year now they charter a ship that brings flour and feed to them from Lake Superior, with a saving on each shipload of about $8,000.

Cooperative economics is supposed to benefit the cooperators quite materially, and in Nova Scotia it undoubtedly does so greatly. It is even more difficult to estimate the effect of cooperation on a whole economic system, and approximations and speculations on that occupy a growing propor-

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tion of public print. One must notice, however, that England is apparently more prosperous than we are; that Finland, a most powerful cooperative country, is in no depression; that production in Sweden is well ahead of 1929. Its economic theory is almost impossible to attack, and anyone can marshal numerous positive reasons to defend it.

It is hard to appraise the intangible effects of the St. Francis Xavier work. I have already reported the increased vitality the men active in Nova Scotia believe flows from it. It is very hard to measure changes in religious consciousness, social awareness, cultural interest, civic responsibility and intellectual activity, but it is clear that there has been a good change in all these. As for political-economic effect, George M. Boyle writes:

> The movement is essentially the motivation of the people shown the way to run their own economic forms and it tends naturally toward a functional, or organic society, which, after all, is a spontaneous development, as it springs from the diverse aims and capacities and avocations of men.

Just why the second half of this statement is true is not altogether clear, unless by releasing the people, it gives opportunity for a "spontaneous" growth; but the first half seems certain. Father M. M. Coady emphasizes that the cooperatives form a vested interest for the poorer 90 percent which encourages them to work for a balance in affairs. The university believes cooperation is a large part of the answer to the quest for the famous "third way." It denies Communism and Fascism while fundamentally changing the present order. It is democratic; it is not statist in its nature; it does not oppose religion. Surely it is beguiling, and although the limits to its positive contribution are not known, those limits have not nearly been sighted on this continent.

A town called Little Dover has been chronicled as an example of the "Xaverian" movement in Nova Scotia. It is a fishing village of 55 Catholic families and about 300 individuals, the terminus of the transatlantic cable at the end of this continent, and was always poor almost to the point of starvation. There was not even a decent road in Little Dover. In 1925, Father James J. Tompkins, now a most effective leader in the adult education cooperative movement, became priest for the place, working from the neighboring parish of Canso. He had to come to the village every two weeks to celebrate Mass, and he began immediately coming on Saturday nights so that on alternate week-ends he could hold informal gatherings somewhere or other, for adult education. He brought prominent speakers whenever he could, to develop confidence and enthusiasm. At first about 15 men joined in; after a year there were 50; in four years about 100 men and youths were in the educational movement.

The first practical undertaking was to build the road that was obviously needed. Then, in 1929, they joined the cooperative organization of fishermen and decided to build their own lobster factory. It took two years to raise the $125 for this project, but they held on and did it. They constructed a wharf. In 1932, they built two large fishing smacks cooperatively, going back in the woods themselves for the lumber. In 1933, they went ahead and completed a fish curing plant and storage house. A Catholic University report says:

> From an economic point of view, they have effected through cooperative buying a savings of $4 on a single fishing net, $.05 per pound on rope, $.04 per pound on nails, and $.15 a bushel on potatoes. By utilizing the small patches of ground suitable for gardening they have grown a variety of vegetables that were formerly considered a luxury. [They have also introduced goats for milk.] As a consequence of marketing their lobster catch cooperatively they have obtained an additional $.02 per pound. . . .

Regular study clubs took the place of more informal meetings when the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department began operations. In 1930, a night school, meeting three times a week, was started, and during the 1933-1934 session 35 people attended it. Twenty adult illiterates, two of them past sixty years old, learned to read and write. The Sisters of St. Martha have taken over special women's study clubs. With absolute confidence, this community, devitalized in 1925, has plans on the docket for building a community hall, introducing electricity and other conveniences, constructing an ice-house and freezer for storing fish and bait, building a new smoking plant, and operating a cooperative store. The story of Little Dover is being repeated all around Nova Scotia, and this winter more frequently in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The impulse of Nova Scotia cooperation affects all eastern Canada, and, as a good example, all other places where cooperation is getting started in America.

Passion

Of perfect goal is passion's empery,
Of prayer and flower and leafage is it wrought,
Of pollen-gold of the fine flower fraught,
Of cloth of gold, of heavenly fantasy.
In leafage measureless as the forest tree,
In orison infinite as fair realms unsought,
Saving of him alone the soul distraught
Of time, of care, of earth's stale infamy.

Aye, kings have conquered for it and o'erthrown
Towers and towns, the boon of one fair face,
A nation's moil, a snare to set men free.
For this they battled sore, and yet,
None hath known its mortal benison of immortal grace,
Save him who hath wrestled with infinity.

JOSEPH LEWIS FRENCH.

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CULTURE AND CHAOS

By STANLEY B. JAMES

WHEN objection is taken to the effects of press, cinema and state-controlled education in standardizing intelligence, the fact seems to be overlooked that a uniform culture may exist which is not stereotyped, and that consequently, in our revolt against standardization, we are not driven to cultural anarchy as the only alternative. One of the most impressive features of medieval civilization is the intellectual solidarity which it presents. When we speak of the thought or the art of the Middle Ages we are speaking of something that had a definite and recognizable character. This character was common to the universities of the period, to its architecture and to its political thought. It prevailed over racial, national and class differences. Frenchman and Englishman, prince and peasant, all breathed the same atmosphere and could without difficulty understand each other's point of view.

But the unity which was thus achieved was not imposed from without by mechanical means as is the culture of the twentieth century. It was a living and creative thing springing from deep, spiritual sources and due to the possession of a common faith. Consequently, while it is possible to see the work of kindred minds in the cathedrals, pictures and literature of medieval times, no one can accuse medieval civilization of being standardized. The unity found is that of a family living and working together. The unity seen among ourselves is that of robots whose minds have been impressed by the same stamp. The one was caused by the inspiration of the same spirit, the other has been produced by mechanical means. There is nothing in itself evil in a unified culture, principles held in common, ideals governing the whole community. Rather should we declare that this, providing there is freedom for creative genius and the expression of individuality, should be regarded as the normal state of things.

There was at least one danger from which medievalism was free. There was no such deep class-division in its cultural life as exists today. High-brow was not ranged against low-brow and low-brow against high-brow as is the case among ourselves. At Padua, Paris, Oxford, scholarship ignored social distinctions. The cathedrals were built by a common effort and were the expression not of artistic cliques but of what all felt to be right and fitting. The miracle and mystery plays were the creations of the popular imagination. These things followed a tradition, but it was a living tradition which allowed of development and which could make room for topical jests or for the pathos suggested by the evils of the times.

Even down to the age of Queen Elizabeth there was this unanimity as regards drama and poetry. That notable critic, J. A. Symonds, wrote of the Elizabethan stage: "What made the playwrights of that epoch so great as to deserve the phrase which Dryden found for them—'theirs was the giant race before the flood'—was that they lived and wrote in fullest sympathy with the whole people. The public to which they appealed was the English nation, from Elizabeth upon the throne down to the lowest ragamuffin of the streets. In the same wooden theatres met lords and ladies, citzens and prentices, sailors and workingmen, pick-pockets, country-folk, and captains from the wars."

It is arguable that it was the communal tradition which was responsible for the magnificence of the sixteenth century stage and that Shakespeare's plays were the product of no mere individual genius but of one who was the voice of his own and preceding generations of English men and women. And if that be so, what have we not lost by the anarchy of the literary and artistic world of today!

The present English Poet Laureate, Mr. John Masefield, has bemoaned the isolation of his craft from "the heart of the world." "In the days of long ago," he said, "there was one culture for everybody. The king who employed a bard shared his poetry with his subjects. Now, however, there has been a separation of the culture of the court and the culture of the people and a great separation of the bard from the heart of the world." The poet of today, cut off from the mass of the people by a deep gulf, writing in isolation even from his fellows of the same craft, condemned to exploit his own individuality at the expense of the common tradition, runs to seed in mere eccentricity.

America is, perhaps, less blameworthy in this respect than some other countries. Whitman's conception of the bard as a national figure, though he failed to realize his ideal, has not been without effect. In a discussion organized by the British Broadcasting Corporation between American and English poets, Mr. Paul Engle was able to say to his English fellow disputant. "You're thinking in terms of class distinction—we're not. When you write about the work and activities of every-day life, about building or mining, or tramping the roads, you're writing about something that you're imagining. When we write about those things, we are writing about something we've actually experienced." That is all to the good, so far as it goes.

But it must be remembered that the democracy has its part to play as well as the poet. It must not drag the writer down to its own level but endeavor to meet him half way, giving him the benefit of its more robust temper and learning from him to allow its imagination a wider range and more refined expression.

How is this double task to be accomplished? In other words, how is a culture to be produced which shall unite those whom God joined together but capitalism divorced? The forces which are engaged in creating a national spirit seem incapable of producing a common culture of any value. Bolshevism, Fascism and Hitlerism so far have failed in this respect. Their methods savor too much of the barrack-yard. Literature is a spontaneous living growth and refuses to be coerced by dictators. We suggest that something deeper, a unity achieved in the realm of the spirit is necessary. It is Catholicity in faith that begets catholicity in culture. And it is anarchy in religion and philosophy which is responsible ultimately for anarchy in letters.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—Students from twenty-one Eastern colleges and universities assembled at Washington, March 14, in a peace conference sponsored by the International Relations Club of Trinity College and the Catholic Association for International Peace. Similar peace meetings were also held recently at San Antonio, Texas, and Richmond, Virginia. * * * In a recent address at Vienna, the Most Reverend Martin Gillet, O.P., Father General of the Dominican Order, declared, "Thomism is the philosophy of common sense. It starts from the things we see, thus from realities, and recognizes, by trying to penetrate and comprehend them, the essence or that which a thing is. It seeks in the world the reality of the eternal principles; for what has been lost by the world and is missed most by it are the fundamentals of humanity, as justice, right, duty, virtue, authority and promotion of the common weal." * * * The Cathedral of Our Lady of Chartres has on exhibition a jeweled reliquary containing a veil believed to have been worn by the Mother of Christ. The Virgin's Veil has been at Chartres for almost 1,100 years. * * * On Fridays during Lent the Way of the Cross is said at 2 p. m. in English, at 3 p. m. in Hawaiian and at 7 p. m. in Portuguese, at the Cathedral of Our Lady of Peace in Honolulu. * * * Moise Durocher, a farmer in the Province of Quebec, celebrated his 100th birthday by leading his 120 direct descendants down the aisle of the village Church of Ste. Rose to assist at high Mass. * * * Some 965 community-owned houses of Beeston, Nottingham, England, are entrusted to Reverend Francis C. Hays, who recently sponsored the building of 110 workingmen's houses that rent for $2 and $2.50 a week and some small bungalows that are rented to aged couples for $1.25 a week. * * * The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith has issued an appeal for the foundation of new religious institutes for women who will devote themselves principally to mission health work. * * * At the inauguration of the Fisher Committee, which will attempt to handle the problem of distressed areas in England on a national scale, Bishop Myers of Westminster suggested a plan whereby a prosperous parish would adopt an impoverished one.

The Nation.—Congress plugged away at the taxing problem. The undivided corporate surplus tax will evidently be accepted about as the Treasury wishes, unenthusiastic legislators expecting a major tax revision operation in the fall anyway. The new manufacturers' excise taxes, or new processing taxes, met stiffest opposition, especially when the Treasury told that income tax receipts through March 16 were running 45.6 percent ahead of last year, and that first payments on the levy for 1935 income might reach $450,000,000, compared to $248,060,133 for the year before. * * * A mutiny charge was threatened against the crew of the Panama-Pacific liner, California, when it docked in New York. After having signed up, the crew struck and delayed the ship in San Pedro. The shipping business seemed impossibly upset. Congress gave no ship subsidy in the mail appropriations, which has made the American merchant marine even more panicky. A wage contract for the Atlantic coast negotiated by the officers of the International Seamen's Union was rejected by the members' vote. * * * Senator Black's Senate Committe on lobbies, which has suffered severely from injunctions that prevent its access to or use of material such as telegrams it considers pertinent, took the offensive by offering a joint resolution to provide it with $10,000. This would have to be passed by the Senate and House and then signed by the President. Its authority would thus be enhanced in the face of critics who declare it a ruthlessly unconstitutional searcher and seizer. * * * The highest court of New York State upheld state housing laws which give local authorities extensive powers, even up to eminent domain, in effecting slum clearance. The federal administration will submit housing bills when the President returns from his vacation. They will be designed, it is said, to make local authorities get the land and spend much money on their own initiative before receiving any federal aid. And this aid is to consist as little as possible of grants, but rather of loans or financial guarantees. * * * The American Telephone and Telegraph inquiry, after its first day open session, seemed destined to be the headline quiz of the spring. * * * Congress received the President's long awaited work relief message. New money needed for this special budget was estimated at $1,500,000,000.

The Wide World.—The Council of the League of Nations, meeting in London to consider the results of Germany's violation of the Locarno treaty, decided to invite the Hitler government to send a representative. Replying on March 15, the Germans made acceptance contingent upon the League's willingness to debate the peace plan outlined by their Chancellor. Thereupon M. Flandin asserted that if these conditions were accepted France would mobilize; and the League Council hurriedly stated its unwillingness to discuss the Nazi scheme for guaranteeing a general peace. At the same time Hitler, engaged in making campaign speeches preparatory for the plebiscite of March 29, was assuring his hearers that unless Germany's terms were accepted it would prefer isolation to discussion. But cooler Reichswehr heads obviously carried weight, because on March 17 the Germans notified Mr. Eden that their Ambassador-at-large, Joachim von Ribbentrop, would come to London. The French were still declaring that they would negotiate only if German troops were withdrawn from the Rhineland, while the Nazis—with Goering as their principal mouthpiece—were insisting that the troops would remain and that the region would also be fortified. It looked as if Britain would attempt to effect a compromise, requesting the withdrawal

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of some soldiers but securing French assent to a measure of occupation. What progress if any would be made in the effort to enforce sanctions against the Third Reich could not be predicted. The Paris press seemed dissatisfied with the conduct of its delegation. Speaking for Russia at the League Council meeting, M. Litvinov assailed Hitler in a vehement address. * * * Though efforts to effect a peace in Africa were being made in League circles, the plight of Ethiopia was obviously so far outweighed in importance by events on the Continent that little hope was entertained for an immediate solution of the problem. It was believed that when peace terms were offered by Mussolini, they would be practically the same as those long since rejected by the League. * * * Speaking in Budapest, Cardinal Seredi attacked, during the course of a widely publicized sermon, the rising tide of nationalist hatred in Europe. He condemned the tendency to recognize the omnipotence of the state rather than the omnipotence of God, to seek national economic autarchy instead of friendly and peaceful cooperation between peoples, and to prefer war to peace. * * * There were indications that tension between Japan and Russia over boundary problems was easing. It was indicated that a boundary commission would seek to adjust the situation in Mongolia.

* * * *

Spain.—The Republic of Spain is actually and officially in "state of alarm." News reports from the country are so inadequate that the American press has not yet even given the exact composition of the third parliament of the Republic which assembled March 15, nor of the popular vote which elected it. An English paper estimates that the Left coalition received 4,600,000 votes and 263 seats, while the Right scored over 5,000,000 votes, but, due to the election laws, won only 210 seats. In any case, the government apparatus has been taken over by the Radical Republicans, who dominated the first Republican Cortes, and their more Leftward allies. The police power is with the Left, and Spain sees the remarkable sight of revolutionary Marxists attending the funeral of a slain policeman, rendering him, and the whole force, turbulent honor. The press of the Right is severely censored, while the Left has free play. The army is supposed to have warned the government to stop the chaotic murder and arson and desecration that have continued sporadically for over a month, or else see the army take over the job itself. The army insisted, however, that it is "loyal to established authority," the new parliamentary majority. The most powerful party of the Right, the CEDA alliance, has also remained loyal to the established authority. Important Catholic sections have refused to support this avowedly Catholic organization, believing its program one of too negative conservatism. A more social-minded influence in the CEDA is said to be developing under the leadership of Jimenez Fernandez, called by monarchists the "white bolshevik." In the Cortes, the vote for the Left candidate for speakership, who is expected soon to succeed Alcala Zamora as president, showed that the Catholics must have been giving their support: Diego Martinez-Barrio received 386 out of the 397 votes cast. The united front tactics of the Socialists, under the leadership of Largo Caballero, is apparently to use the democratic victory obtained with the Radicals merely as a stepping stone, to protect the party while working directly in the streets for a state of revolutionary anarchy, out of which can be formed a proletarian dictatorship. Commentators expected to see the Radicals, Republicans and CEDA moving toward one another, while the Marxists and Radicals separated. The rumored appointment of a special envoy to the Holy See was perhaps significant.

French Catholic Labor Plan.—The French Federation of Christian Workers, the big Catholic trade union organization of the country, recently published a "Plan," its most elaborately stated program since 1920. It is a system to change, by the methods of union pressure and class collaboration and political effort, the still laissez-faire capitalist order of France into something not now dogmatically mapped out or named, but clearly a very different set-up. The democratic, parliamentary state is left standing, but there are new constitutional bodies established with an economic base and these become organic branches of government. Each profession, or industry, is thoroughly organized, starting by means of unionization, and by having unions and employers' associations forming mixed commissions, and by compulsory arbitration and compulsory collective bargaining. The Plan anticipates the evolution of wage bargains into contracts providing for profit sharing. A superior Council of Labor would confirm and coordinate the various provisions and codes collectively arrived at. This professional set-up, dealing chiefly with conditions of labor, is separated from the "economic" organization to help guarantee "free unionization in the organized profession," a fundamental principle separating the C.F.T.C. Plan absolutely from Fascism. The economic side is topped by a National Economic Council, "constituted by the different elements interested in production," and having large powers to plan economy and handle much of the economic legislation now attempted by parliaments. In the particular businesses and industrial divisions, there is the expectation of increased rationalization, arrived at under increasingly democratic control. A régime is hoped for under which labor will have precedence over capital. The Plan also proposes for immediate action a "barrage" of laws: minimum wage, maximum hours, obligatory insurance of various sorts, raising of the school-leaving age, child labor, etc.

Marriage Rackets.—A campaign against the marriage racketeer has been conducted with marked dash and verve by the Chicago *Tribune,* which asserts that it has already put one such "ring" out of business. Recently the editorial barrage was directed at the Crown Point, Indiana, justices of the peace, whose endeavors to serve the romantic are of the strangest possible kind. One of these worthies —member of a group that regards itself as a closed corporation—maintains on the main highway an illuminated sign inviting those who feel an inclination for wedded bliss to his "study," which is operated at rates varying with the seasons, the times and the crowds. The result is a

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great number of disillusioned couples who throng to the courts seeking annulment or divorce. According to the *Tribune* story, brides and grooms have been so greatly under the influence of gin or bourbon that it was necessary to hold them erect during the ceremony. In some cases, matrimonial court judges have refused to grant petitions for annulment on the ground that if beds have been made they must be lain in; but of course in the majority of cases the procedure is in and out again. That a campaign against such racketeering will be permanently successful appears doubtful. The judiciary and the bar need to be housecleaned in nearly all states; and it appears that the Missouri system, which already places the bar under the supervision of the judiciary and which will attempt to eliminate the justice of the peace, is a model which other commonwealths could and should follow.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities. — At a two-day seminar at Northwestern University, March 16 and 17, Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, outlined a four-point program designed to save the United States from the totalitarian fate of a number of other nations. Dr. Clinchy urged Protestants, Catholics and Jews to work stanchly together for more adequate relief for the millions in economic distress, the preservation of freedom of conscience and expression, the prevention of extreme nationalism, and a spiritual renaissance in which religious groups would supply the call to self-sacrifice to which youth is so responsive. * * * Dr. Worth M. Tippy, executive chairman of the Church Conference of Social Work, has recently made financial arrangements with the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh whereby a special edition of the Brookings Institution study, "Income and Economic Progress," will be mailed to 90,000 ministers in the United States. * * * The first of a series of twenty-eight essays to be published by the Church Union of London and distributed to Episcopalians throughout Britain and the United States and other parts of the world was written by Bishop William T. Manning of New York. It called for a reunion of Christendom on the basis of "the Apostolic creed, sacraments and ministry." In June, 1940, three representatives from every Anglican diocese in the world will be invited to assemble at London to draw up a platform of reunion. * * * Since China Famine Relief was inaugurated in 1928 by a Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the Federal Council of Churches, $2,500,000 has been sent by the American people to succor Chinese victims of famine and flood.

Fascism in Paraguay. — For the first time in the Americas a régime approximating Fascism was ushered in when Colonel Rafael Franco, Provisional President of Paraguay, consolidated his February 17 coup by issuing a seven-fold decree, March 10. The preamble asserts that "the revolution involved the same social transformations as those of contemporary European totalitarian states in the sense that the State and the liberating revolution are one and the same thing. . . . The underlying idea of the revolution . . . was the organization of a new Paraguay that should be freed from the endemic evils of sectarian and industrial demagogy, which was incarnate in the deposed régime." Colonel Franco later declared he was a democrat and continued, "We shall have a true democracy of workers and peasants, who are the eternal victims of their economic weakness and their spiritual poverty, only when they feel themselves protected and assisted by the State and by a political party of their own and when the nation enters into full possession of its personality and destiny." Observers, however, detected familiar earmarks of an out and out Fascist dictatorship. All political activity not emanating from the State, that is to say the army régime, is prohibited for one year. The Minister of the Interior is given jurisdiction over "all questions or conflicts relating to capital and labor as well as workmen's or employers' organizations," and a National Labor Department is created to handle these questions under regulations handed down by the Minister of the Interior. Strict censorship of the press has been clamped down and six classes of reserves have been called to the colors. Regardless of their sentiments toward the new régime, the United States and five important South American nations awarded the Franco government recognition, March 14.

An Appeal for Aid.—In a letter to their friends, the editors of the *Catholic Worker* announce that they are forced to skip this month's issue in order to catch up on the printing bill for last month's issue. There is some sweet in this bitterness because they are able to reveal that last month's issue reached the not inconsiderable total of 115,000 copies. With regard to their last year's farm community, they say that there is a dispossess notice in their folder of bills. They speak of it as "the place in the country, the friendly home that took care of fifty children last summer, and any number of sick and jobless during the year," and they continue, "There are so many sick and jobless ones to feed, and we cannot turn them away. They come to us, just as Elias came to the widow woman who had only enough for one meal. . . . It is the style now to decry the works of mercy and the idea of charity. It is the style now to think in terms of state responsibility instead of personal responsibility. Emphasis is laid on collective responsibility, and Christ's poor are relegated to the breadlines and to the state agencies. The *Catholic Worker* is fighting for justice for the poor and dispossessed ones of this earth, is fighting to uphold the idea of charity, so degraded at this time of conflict." There is, of course, an appeal for aid, and the editors add that it was through the work of their friends and readers that 43,800 meals were served last year and thousands of articles of clothing distributed. The April number is confidently predicted to appear before the first of the month.

Newman on Writing.—What is believed to be a previously unpublished letter from Cardinal Newman to a group of students at Maynooth Seminary, in Ireland, who had asked for his advice as to how to acquire a literary style like his, has been released by the National Catholic Welfare Council news service. Excerpts are: "As to the writing or delivery of sermons, to which you refer, the

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great thing seems to be to have your subject distinctly before you—to think over it until you have got it perfectly in your mind—to take care that it should be one subject, not several—to sacrifice every thought, however good and clever, which does not tend to bring out your one point, and to aim earnestly and supremely to bring home that one point to the minds of your hearers. . . . One great difficulty in recommending particular authors as models of good English arises from the literature of England being Protestant, and sometimes worse. Thus Hume is a writer of good English, but he was an unbeliever. Swift and Dryden write English with great force, but you never can be sure when you will come upon coarse passages. . . . All this leads me to consider that everyone should form his style for himself, and under a few general rules, some of which I have mentioned already. First, a man should be in earnest—by which I mean he should write, not for the sake of writing, but to bring out his thoughts. He should never aim at being eloquent. He should keep his idea in view, and write sentences over and over again till he has expressed his meaning accurately, forcibly and in few words. He should aim at being understood by his hearers or readers. He should use words which are most likely to be understood. Ornament and amplification will come to him in due time—but he should never seek them. He must creep before he can fly—by which I mean that that humility which is a great Christian virtue has a place in literary composition. . . ."

Garden Things.—New York's annual rushing of the season, the flower show, opened with more than a million blooms and what seemed to be almost as many people. After one of the hardest winters in years, it was a happy omen that spring cannot be far behind for those who still survive. The façade of Marie Antoinette's play-castle, Le Petit Trianon, with beautifully planted approaches, gave a suggestion of a political note to what is otherwise principally a memorializing of healthful and peaceful, if laborious, recreation. In contrast to this exhibit on the extensive scale, was an intensive one—the Tom Thumb rose. This is, says the New York *Times,* "so small that a coffee cup can cover the entire plant. It has buds the size of wheat grains and fiery red flowers which a thimble can hide. The dainty plant blooms continually and is hardy outdoors." Golden and scarlet giant nasturtiums, the blossom of which has fifty petals as compared with the five-petal blossom of the common garden variety, were exhibited by an enterprising grower who has patented the seeds. Crossings of nasturtiums were made to produce the seeds in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Puerto Rico and California. In Japan, 200 women made more than 40,000 crossings. Calm, regular trees, all the familiar flowers in abundance, as well as the exotic ones not man created, were on view to those who could surge to the front. Members of various garden clubs competed in floral arrangements and Governor Merriam of California had a bouquet of poppies presented to Miss Dorothy Gish on Monday which had been picked in California the day before and rushed across the continent in an airplane.

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Politics and Relief.—Mr. Arthur Krock of the New York *Times* recently observed that the controversy between Victor Ridder and Robert Moses about the use of WPA posters on projects in the New York parks would probably be "the only humorous one in the campaign battle over the WPA." Criticism of the administration's relief policies reached a peak, March 12, when Senator Rush D. Holt made a vituperative attack on Harry L. Hopkins and the conduct of relief in his state of West Virginia. He supported his fiery charges with a veritable barrage of letters, telegrams, photostats and other documents. But Mr. Hopkins seemed content to rest on the laurels of previous defenses of his policies. He also refused to dismiss Victor Ridder, the WPA administrator in New York City, and declared, "He has done a good job for us." Despite the surge of pre-campaign charges of "boondoggling," graft and inefficiency, there still seems to be considerable sentiment today for the continuation of the present relief policies. The United States Conference of Mayors urged that the program of work relief be continued throughout the fiscal year beginning July 1 and recommended a huge appropriation for its continuance. Congressional leaders were also said to be much in favor of continuing the CCC program at its present strength despite Mr. Roosevelt's desire to curtail it for purposes of economy. The part that politics has played in the administration of relief remains a question that will be more hotly debated as the 1936 campaign progresses. It is clear, however, that there will be grave difficulties in squaring the nation's relief needs with the growing demand for curtailing government expenditures.

For Fighting.—More than $3,500,000 worth of nine-cylinder, air-cooled radial engines, each of them developing, at the take-off peak, 1,000 horse-power, were ordered by the War Department. The latter announced that these are the most powerful single-row radial production aircraft engines in the world. They will be used in new all-metal bombing monoplanes. In Congress, the House Military Affairs Committee voted unanimously for a bill by Chairman John J. McSwain, of South Carolina, which would authorize the building of 4,000 new fighting planes in the next five years. This is part of the War and Navy Department plans for the national defense which may send our costs for war preparation to a record breaking total of $1,100,000,000, according to Associated Press estimates. Two special investigations for the War Department have recommended that the United States should have 2,300 new planes, besides the approximately 800 planes now in fighting trim and some 500 classed as "obsolete." Estimates of the present approximate air fighting strength of principal European nations are: Russia, 3,000; France, 1,800; England, 1,200; Italy, 1,100, Germany, 700; Rumania, 700; Czechoslovakia, 600; Jugoslavia, 600; and Poland, 500. What fighting strength the various commercial air-fleets could have, in case of necessity, is largely conjectural, except for the generally recognized fact that the United States is second to no other nation in regard to the material, personnel and hour-miles flown annually of its commercial aviation.

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The Play and Screen

Saint Joan

OF ALL the triumphs of Joan of Arc not the least has been her triumph over George Bernard Shaw. To say that Mr. Shaw plays ducks and drakes with history is to put it mildly; not even Caesar was able to persuade G. B. S. that he had met a figure of slightly more importance than himself. With the exception of "Candida" and "Saint Joan" the Irish playwright has peopled his works exclusively with replicas of himself or abstractions of his ideas, and though his portrait gallery is large, as the years have gone by we have got tired of the eternal presence of Mr. Shaw himself, posing, not in wrapt but in voluble admiration before each separate masterpiece of his ego. Even his wit no longer moves us as it used to. We know now that G. B. S. is a Bourbon. Fifty years ago his ideas were the same as they are today; he has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. And yet Bourbon though he is we can forgive him for two figures—the character of Candida, the womanly woman, and of Joan, the saint. In "Candida" he deigned to write a play, to create figures who lived their own lives and were not jerked about, however nimbly, to serve their author's purposes. Now, "Saint Joan" is not as good a play as "Candida"; in the figures of the King, of Warwick, of John de Stogumber, of the Inquisitor, and in all the figures of the Epilog, Mr. Shaw can't keep his fingers out of the pie. At times these figures live, and then again we have them grimacing and gyrating in the accepted Shavian manner; and at these moments they become wearisome. But he has left Joan alone. His Joan is the Joan of history, even the Joan of the Church, an epitome of the power of simple faith. In the presence of Joan, George Bernard Shaw for once in his life has known the virtue of humbleness.

Katharine Cornell's Joan marks the summit so far of her artistic achievement. Physically, emotionally and spiritually she is the character. She has simplicity, she has humor, she has high spirits, and at the end her performance is informed with a pathos and a high tragedy which yet never for a moment dim the supreme triumph of her faith. When Joan is not on the stage the play has its moments of boredom, but whenever Joan arrives it becomes vibrant with life. Beautiful as she is to look upon and to hear, it is not so much what she does but what she appears to *be* that makes Miss Cornell's impersonation notable. It isn't that her performance is static, for a static Joan of Arc would be a contradiction in terms; it is that whether clad as the peasant girl or in shining armor, her personality glows with an internal spiritual fire. Katharine Cornell's Saint Joan is one of the supreme creations of the modern theatre.

Unlike many stars Miss Cornell does not fear to gather able players about her and never tries to take from them what is theirs. Brian Ahearne as the silky, cynical, yet masculine Warwick gives a magnificent performance; Maurice Evans shows his versatility by turning from Romeo to play the effeminate King in truly Shavian fashion; Arthur Byron is sincere as the Inquisitor; and Kent Smith proves as Dunois that he is one of the most promising young American actors. Why an Italian should have been chosen to play the Bishop of Beauvais is, however, difficult to understand, for though Eduardo Ciannelli is an able actor, his accent is out of key with the rest of the actors. Charles Waldron is acceptable as the Archbishop of Reims. The play is admirably directed by Guthrie McClintic, and the settings and costumes of Jo Mielziner among the finest things Mr. Mielziner has given to the theatre. In a program note Mr. Shaw states that the Epilog is necessary to give the play a glorious ending, but it would have been more glorious had Mr. Shaw himself kept his personality and his ideas out of it. What remains effective in it is the final picture of Joan kneeling in prayer clad in shining armor—and this is not George Bernard Shaw. (At the Martin Beck Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

The Country Doctor

QUITE apart from the climatic introduction of the Dionne quintuplets, Producer Darryl Zanuck's story, written for the occasion, is distinguished entertainment. An irresistibly appealing blend of sentiment and comedy is based, wisely, not on the babies, but on the sacrificial elements in the life of a country doctor and the heart-throbbing simplicities of the isolated north-woods villagers who are the appreciative subjects of his intense devotion to duty. This further glorification of the modest, the gentle Dr. Allan Dafoe could stand alone as a fine dramatic document, due to the masterly reenactment by Jean Hersholt and the superbly sympathetic support both by contributing players and the off-screen creators. Of course when the babies do arrive, they capture all hearts. Long to be remembered as a great comic interlude of popular favor is the sequence dealing with the fivefold birth and the wide-eyed astonishment of the father at such a sudden accumulation of daughters. Commercialization by the motion picture of a human event has rarely been done in such virtuous simplicity, such sensitiveness, such warming human spirit. But, then, all of the elements existed for the required inspiration.

Give Us This Night

GLADYS SWARTHOUT and Jan Kiepura sing high and sing low, always classically, sometimes too much, in a continental atmosphere that bespeaks lack of originality in theme. This time it is a young fisherman (Kiepura) from romantic Sorrento whose beautiful voice so impresses the traveling opera singer (Swarthout) that she provides him with the usual opportunity to sing in an opera. Of course, he achieves signal success. "Rose of the Rancho's" sad introduction of Gladys Swarthout to motion pictures, last January, is not materially benefited by her second screen performance. Mr. Kiepura, whose motion picture standing is better because of his "Be Mine Tonight," is frequently allowed to oversing Miss Swarthout, with unfortunate effect on the presence of the songstress. Some of the music, however, is beautiful. The scenery of Italy is entrancingly photographed.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Communications

THE SILENCE OF THEOLOGIANS

Cincinnati, Ohio.

TO the Editor: "The Silence of Theologians" in your Communications column is a sort of screaming secrecy. It is fine until it reaches the last three paragraphs. Then it stumbles over its own finesse.

Let's start the war all over again. Heaven knows that we mud-waders of the SOS should do something to merit the bonus. I think that our last war and our first war were justified. The others—grant them the silence of theologians. It is not necessary to set up a case for the Revolutionary War; but a line or two about the Evolutionary one:

There were two countries on the wrong side in that war, and they were not on the same side. One was Germany, who should have fought with France; the other was Britain (God love her), who should have fought for Prussia—a little help-mating she was quite experienced in, by the way. Germany does not count, in setting up explanations, excuses and prejudices, because Germany had nothing to say. The lifeless *Verboten* sign and the deathly *Landwehr* had abolished Germany, as far as spiritual heartbeat was concerned. According to Belloc, Parliament said "War" by a majority of one vote; and the British Admiralty, with the bull by both horns, was responsible for that.

Down here in Cincinnati, there were a few pro-Germans and odds and ends of pro-British. It was my observation that the pro-British were slightly anti-American. The Germans all made the same mistakes however. They apotheosized, big army, big business, brute force, supermen, ruthless discipline and the survival of the fittest—all British "science." They particularly hated the French and the Italians and the Poles; and peculiarly loved the Dutch and the Swedes—all British evangelicalism. Bismarck was the father of their Fatherland, and the only Frenchmen they esteemed were Charlemagne and Napoleon, both imperialists. They used these two horrible examples to justify both the ignorance of Von Tirpitz and the truculence of Von Moltke. There was, nevertheless, more sympathy for the hapless Belgians among the Germans here than among the "conscientious" objectors, who seemed to pity only themselves. The British were frightfully shocked at the waste of wealth in the cathedrals, libraries, fortifications and factories destroyed; and quite indifferent to the loss of Catholics.

America went into that war to profess ideals, and to defend the weak. There was not a mother's son among us who did not accept "Make the World Safe for Democracy" as literally meaning, "Make the World Safe for Christianity." We are astonished now to discover that what was going on in Washington then, had nothing to do with the reason for Americans entering that war. The Beast of Evolution at Last—big, powerful, ruthless and Protestant—threatened humanity; had already attacked Christianity. Moreover, the Nordic god would have conquered, were it not for the "children's crusade" from the New World which Catholic Spain built. But that "boy army" swelled and swarmed and filled Europe with lively laughter, happy song and straight shooting. For God and Country, for the weak against the strong, and the gates of hell (the Hindenberg Line) could not prevail against it.

Yes, Fidelis, we got into the war too late; we came out of it too soon. It was nearly lost; it was never won. Pershing wanted to march into Berlin and slay the Frankenstein monster in its lair. Wilson (despite his British loans) wanted to make Austria a real Germany, free from Prussia. But Freemasonry (Clemenceau) said, "No! Poland is enough for Europe."

Because I love the Germans, I hate Prussia. Oh, when will Vienna regain her scepter? When will the spirit of Sobieski drive the frozen thunder of Thor back into the Arctic wastes? Until then, Europe can only despair—and Britain, merely bluff.

ARTHUR J. CONWAY.

COLONEL FRANCIS RIGGS

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: I do not suppose that Colonel Francis Riggs was chosen to head and organize the police force of Puerto Rico either because he was a gentleman of high standards or because he had lived with and studied the revolution in Russia, and the whole world-wide revolutionary trend in which racial animosity plays so powerful a part, and knew how dangerous it is to meet ideas by force. That would be far too much to expect from our traditional conduct of Puerto Rican affairs.

Theodore Roosevelt, after our casual (almost unintentional) conquest, appointed Beekman Winthrop as governor and gave him a staff of young men as representative of the best there is of America as he could pick, to organize a new government. Puerto Rico, unlike other West Indian Spanish colonies, had always been a peaceful quiet place, undisturbed by politics or racial passions. Winthrop's calm dignity suited its people exactly—so, we never sent another like him. A long line of haphazard politicians has had no higher object as governors than to organize political parties and teach Puerto Ricans the great American game of politics—quite unconscious of what was growing beneath the surface. Side by side with this political inanity went the other great American obsession: education. What was left of Catholicism in Puerto Rico has been subordinated to a laic education—not by deliberate intent to destroy the religion of the island but without any objective whatever. A new cult of independence, complemented by a new cult of politics, misdirected by a system of public education totally unsuited to the island's needs, made dangerous by the neglect of religion and envenomed by racial revolution, has led where it had to lead and is climaxed by the unnecessary sacrifice of a gallant officer and great-hearted gentleman.

And the head of the party that murdered him is a Harvard man. Is it pertinent to ask what it is that Harvard does or fails to do to Puerto Ricans, and what Columbia does to Mexican revolutionary leaders?

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

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DIALOGUED MASS

New Milford, Conn.

TO the Editor: I was much interested in Alice Mary Russell's account, in the issue of February 28, of her visit to the little church of Notre Dame de la Salette in the French Alps. The congregation both recited and sang the proper Latin responses at Mass. They were simple people, merely ordinary Catholic folk. But unlike so many of our American congregations, they were not "dumb," as one of the well-known Middle-Western bishops termed our sad condition a couple of years ago.

A similar impression was made upon me by attendance at high Mass, not only amid urbane groups at Westminster Cathedral in London and at the Madeleine in Paris, but also at smaller churches in the towns of Germany and Italy. During the summer of 1932, I recall listening with considerable awe to a gathering of simple Italians at Vespers in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Nearly all of these people appeared to know the words of "O Salutaris Hostia," "Tantum Ergo Sacramentum," the "Credo" and many other such canticles.

"Now why cannot we in America do likewise?" queries Miss Russell. The answer is, of course, that we can, if we have the necessary good-will and industry. For we must be trained to do it, and it is not likely that we shall find the practise natural or easy. I think that many of us have asked ourselves why we have hitherto made so little progress. Various reasons may be enumerated, chief of which, to my mind, are the following. First, those of us descended from immigrants from the British Isles are simply not so musical as most of those descended from continental immigrants. Secondly, our people are anything but homogeneous like most of the populations of Europe. Wherever racial solidarity prevails traditional practises are much more readily transmitted. Thirdly, we are still apparently a "pioneer" or missionary country. Hence only essentials are deemed important, and what to many clergy and laity seem but "frills" must be dispensed with, at least for the nonce. Naturally, we cannot be blamed for these first two causes of our "dumbness." But is it not posible to do something about the third? Can we not cease prating about externals and work for a discussion of the precious Catholic culture, now that we have accomplished so much "pioneering?"

One may well take heart, however, for several reasons. Of late the liturgical movement has made tremendous strides. Missals are ever so much more commonly seen in our churches than was the case even ten years ago. Clergy and nuns have done a great deal by training the children in the parochial schools. For a number of years certain of our private preparatory schools have encouraged the laity to participate actively at the Holy Sacrifice by means of the Missa Recitata and the Missa Cantata. Study clubs of mature people have listened with interest to lectures on the Mass. All this leads one to hope that something more may be done in ordinary parish churches. Surely all of us should be inspired by the efforts of such congregations in Europe as the one Miss Russell describes.

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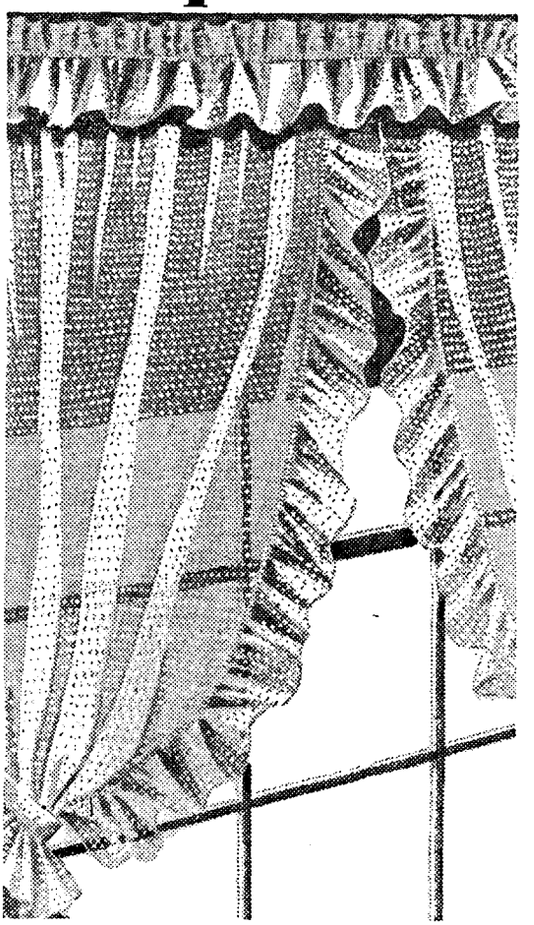

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Books

The Central Problem of Today

Religion and the Modern State, by Christopher Dawson. New York: Sheed and Ward. $2.00.

THE PROBLEM around which this thoughtful book is built may be stated thus: how can the Christian, and more particularly the Catholic, deal with the problems raised by the totalitarian state? In the author's view, liberal democratic parliamentarism confronts us with this question just as much as Communism and Fascism; "the coming conflict is not between religion and secular civilization but rather 'between the God-religious and the social-religious,' in other words between the worship of God and the cult of the State or of the race or of humanity" (page 57). This is indeed the central problem of the age, and nobody will criticize the author for not presenting a ready-made solution. He reaffirms the great Christian tradition as it has grown up around the teachings of the New Testament (chapter VII: "The Religious Solution"). He ably summarizes "The Catholic Doctrine of the State" (chapter VIII), in terms of the encyclicals of Leo XIII. But the real core of the volume is found in its critical insistence upon the essential kinship of Liberalism, Communism and Fascism. Liberals as well as Socialists and Communists must violently object to such identification, and yet from the viewpoint of the faithful Catholic such a statement is not surprising.

It is undoubtedly true, within measure, that all these "isms" represent crypto-religions—faiths for which their true believers are willing to lay down their lives. Mr. Dawson is undoubtedly correct in pointing out once more the impotence of the parliamentary system in the face of such fundamental cleavages: "if a change in the government involves a revolution in our economic system or in the social order, the parliamentary system becomes impossible," and "you cannot solve fundamental issues by the ballot box." Lord Balfour's famous, "It is evident that our whole political machinery presupposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can afford to bicker . . ." is rightly quoted in support of this gloomy view of the future of representative democracy. Just the same, Dawson is not at all sure that western democracy will follow the path of Italy, Germany and the rest; when he sees Roosevelt "as an obvious analogy with the rise of the dictatorships in Europe (page 23), he does not mean it, of course, in the sense in which partizan orators in this country do. Rather he takes it as another sign of the times; the English National government appears to him in the same light of the "expanding State."

The reviewer wonders whether this emphasis upon the purely "quantitative" aspect of expansion is justified. The word "State" which is becoming increasingly popular in England and America covers a multitude of sins. Mr. Dawson does not show—and probably could not show, if he tried—that the mass of human activities referred to by that word in Russia and Germany are even roughly commensurate with those similarly referred to in the United States. Too much is being taken for granted,

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perhaps, when we talk about the "State." The older, and possibly sounder, English and American tradition talked about government, country, people and so forth, but did rarely, if ever, talk about the "State." It was and is a word embodying the most potent myths of continental absolutism, implying totalitarian conceptions. For, as Dawson notes too, the all-inclusive demands of certain governments today are nothing very new; they are revivals of an old tradition. In the face of these demands, the position of Christians has been well defined in the past. There can be no doubt that they must be rejected. Mr. Dawson, in doing so, has adumbrated and reasserted a hallowed creed. It is well that he should have done so.

CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH.

A Real Detective Tale

Fighting the Underworld, by Philip S. Van Cise. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.00.

HERE is a factual document giving a very interesting insight into the fight waged by its author, District Attorney of Denver in 1922 and 1923, against the entrenched gang of confidence men who operated in Denver, protected for years by police chiefs, sheriffs and other public officials. "The confidence game and the con-men" are presented more completely than ever before. A very accurate description of the methods of the confidence men from the time the "sucker" meets the steerer, the spieler, and the manager of the fake stock room or racing parlor, until he parts with his money, is the high spot of the book.

It is suggested to fight the underworld as Van Cise fought the confidence men in Denver, but I think that the Department of Justice and the Post Office inspectors do a much better job today, especially under the new laws. Van Cise's raid on the confidence men was spectacular. The press knew of it before it took place, and it had all the earmarks of a publicity stunt. However, he got his men and put them in jail and drove the con-men from Denver, and the account of it is thrilling. "Fighting the Underworld" is a real detective story, fully documented and illustrated with pictures of the confidence men.

Along with his fight against the underworld, Van Cise tells of police and sheriffs and minor judges protecting crime. Lincoln Steffens gave us a similar picture of other cities in his own autobiography: the sworn officials of the community allowing the crooks to operate, grafting from them, associating intimately with them, forgetting their sworn duty to the state. Van Cise hired a few honest detectives, but he could not trust his police to make his great raid. He made it himself. He jailed them in his own church as he could not trust his own jails.

If you have a few thousand dollars in the bank, you should read this book. It may save you money. The confidence men are still working and it is too bad that they will get the facts of the way the law gets them. Even if you have not the money in the bank, if you like a good detective story and a little inside information on the confidence racket and civic corruption that is almost inevitable in our big cities, here is your book.

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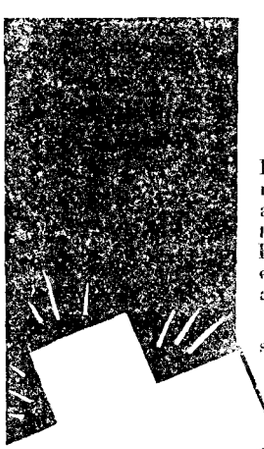

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Interviewing a Nation

England Speaks, by Philip Gibbs. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.00.

"ENGLAND SPEAKS" is a vivid and authentic portrait of a people. The author, Sir Philip Gibbs, has talked to people wherever he found them—highbrows, lowbrows, diplomatists, road sweepers, major-generals, barbers, artists, steelworkers, literary men, blacksmiths, actors, tramps, lords and beggars.

One of the opening chapters deals with King George's Jubilee when ugly old London was changed into fairyland and livened with splendid pageantry, while multitudes of people showed homage and affectionate loyalty to their sovereign.

Sir Philip speaks of an England which is making a brave effort to get out of the rut and doing its best, although the constant threat of war is dampening the spirit of its people. Throughout the book the author acts as interrogator of these people. He finds the unemployment of England's young men one of the greatest problems the country has to solve, attributing it in part to the fact that girls have practically eliminated men from all clerical and secretarial work. He is comforted by the courage and loyalty of Britons.

Some chapters are far from cheerful. Deploring the changing social conditions, Sir Philip recalls the old days of splendor, when England was mightily rich under Victoria's rule, when all the empire poured its wealth into the city of London and the old aristocracy had not yet committed suicide by submitting to extinction by taxation. There is a lack of old-time leadership, he feels, in the government today.

THEODORE ACHTERMANN.

Romance of New Mexico

The Golden Quicksand, A Novel of Santa Fé, by Anna Robeson Burr. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $2.00.

GOOD material has gone into this story of New Mexico in the days of the American annexation. The author's note at the close tells us that her bibliography has included "history, archeology, travel, tracts, broadsides, magazine articles, memoirs and journals." Both place and time offer romance; and Mrs. Burr has used it, on the whole, admirably.

The tale follows the westward journey of one Peter Stockett, native Philadelphian, in search of an elder brother who years before had started off in the same direction with the greater part of the family wealth. It covers adventures on the trail, notably Stockett's aid given a wounded Indian on the road followed by numerous acts of tribal gratitude; his chance acquaintance with such characters as Kit Carson and General Kearny, his infatuation for the dazzling keeper of the gambling house and its outcome; his contacts with the fanatical Penitentes of Santa Fé and Taos; his part in General Kearny's maneuvers; and finally, his dramatic finding of his brother.

However, it is places rather than characters that stand

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out in "The Golden Quicksand." Mrs. Burr brings out all the beauty of the "miraculous night of the plains, clear and cold and filled with starshine"; of the mesas, those "fairy islands above the ocean of desert"; of rivers and gorges, canyons and mountain passes and sunlit plateaus. She gives likewise graphic pictures of trail and wagon road, desert and town.

Throughout there runs a kindly understanding of both Indian and Spaniard in their characters, traditions and civilizations. Of Santa Fé the author says: "It was amazingly stable, warm and cheerful, this frontier town, and full of people who seemed as happy as birds." Peter finds his countrymen "greedy, restless, prejudiced and bureaucratic—likely to have small patience with these people of the sun." Reticence and reverence are outstanding in the novel. Notably the doings of the Penitentes receive deft handling. The style is easy and urbane.

CHARLOTTE M. MEAGHER.

Gardeners' Delights

Four Hedges, by Claire Leighton. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.00.

THERE are, in the main, two ways of knowing the beauty of gardens. The one—and this is doubtless the favorite with those who love the earth for the finished product it alone can deliver—is enshrined forever in such books as Dean Hole's immortal tract on the rose, which ranks with Walton's "Angler." One takes the other route by having more time to think of the garden itself—of the whole cycle of nature's birth and death in it, of the themes for meditation and regarding which are its daily offering, and of the invitation persistently extended to the conscious artist. Clair Leighton's "Four Hedges" is of the second group. The text is sententious and esthetic. There is more about the rhythm of the body that swings a scythe than about how to handle a scythe, and much more about the birds who eat cherries than about the difficult but entrancing art of producing excellent cherries. It will accordingly help all those, and their number is legion in these days, whose association with gardens is primarily a matter of contemplation during several months.

The pictures, however, everyone can love. Eighty-eight wood engravings of unusual clarity and body manage, as Mr. John Taylor Arms observes in an intelligent foreword, to symbolize an English garden—and a very individual English garden—with astonishing success. Some of these engravings, for example that entitled "Scything," are really full-length poems, so evocative are they of keen and noble reflection on man's relation to his environment. Others, notably perhaps that laconically named "Berries," is a memorable achievement in transmuting reality into design. One really should not miss treasures like these. They are exemplary accomplishments in the realm where modern art, which is not endowed with the "grand manner" but treats with unsurpassed perfection many aspects of the commonplace, may honestly be said to triumph.

PAUL CROWLEY.

The Methodist and the Magicians

THE UNFINISHED UNIVERSE ($3.00) is the record of Mr. T. S. Gregory's journey from the Methodist to the Catholic Church. He seems not only to have arrived, but to have built a new road on his way, working out a sort of Christian Philosophy of History. Among other things he finds the roots of Science in Magic—both of which are apt to make a man see himself as God and the world as complete-in-itself, "a round O." instead of the Jewish and Christian vision of a universe that is not closed, and will not be complete until the Last Day.

* * *

The English press has praised it very highly. "A book of power and eloquence and prophecy. . . . Mr. Gregory may well become one of the greatest masters of English of our day" (Sunday Times). "Immense gusto . . . a man to be reckoned with" (The Observer). "The epigrammatic force of his style" (Times Literary Supplement). "Patently sincere and written by a logician" (The Tablet).

* * *

Has the book an equally strong appeal to Americans? We think so, and it has been chosen as the CATHOLIC BOOK CLUB SELECTION FOR MARCH.

FR. BEDE JARRETT: HOLY WEEK

These sermons were preached at Our Lady of Lourdes Church, New York, in the Holy Week of 1930. They were afterwards published as part of *The House of Gold*. This Lent they are available separately for the first time (90c).

ADE DE BETHUNE: THE WAY OF THE CROSS

The artist's illustrations in the Catholic Worker are already well known. Here she supplies not only illustrations, but phrases chosen from the words of Our Lord, given as the only matter for meditation at each station. In two colors, with envelope (15c).

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Steps to Neutrality

Can We Stay Out of War?, by Phillips Bradley. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. $2.75.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY writes a rigidly limited but sensible book about neutrality. Much of the study consists of stating in right modern academic style observations practically everybody agrees to, and analyses that spring almost spontaneously, if not documented, to nearly every mind. The idea of national interest used as basic is the sane, although rather dwarfed, one enunciated by Dr. Beard (and again, thought of quite clearly by any number). Principles, or tactics, are drawn with self-conscious Machiavellian logic from self-interest for this national interest. One might find inadequate the tendency toward a nasty man theory of international economy, and the small importance given individual personal imperialism in the psychology of national imperialism. The effort to compromise isolation with the League ideal of collective security and sanctions is not convincing. Why go about "organizing sanctions" without joining the League? The three "next steps" offered at the end appear wise, but make one realize what a long run there is ahead.

The Burning Question

The Economics of Inflation, by H. Parker Willis and John M. Chapman. New York: Columbia University Press. $4.50.

IT IS impossible to review such a work as this without writing what would amount to another book. The authors and their collaborators, of whom there are thirteen, have both analyzed and widened the term. Analysis serves to reveal the fallacies inherent in much popular use of the word "inflation"; widening tends to illustrate the relative lack of agreement among economists concerning the limitations of that word. Is the process which is sometimes called "inflationary" and sometimes "deflationary" a general economic development, or simply the effect of financial trends or manipulations? Or is "inflation" necessarily evil? Such are the queries which the present volume presents and discusses. Scholarship, realism and caution are among its principal characteristics, and the work can be warmly commended.

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